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ABSTRACT

Following the format of the conference, the presentations in these proceedings are organized in three sections, titled "Introduction"; "National Trends"; and "Labor/Higher Education Initiatives: Finding Common Grounds." The following presentations are included in the introductory section: "Why We're Here" (Donahue, Atwell, Mohler, Grecco). The following presentations are included in the "National Trends" section: "What We Can Expect from the New Administration" (Germond); "Year 2000 Work Place/Work Force Projections" (Oswald, Feistritz, Kelly); "Work Force/Work Place Projections and Implications for Education--By Sector: White Collar/Professional Sector" (Golodner), "Public Sector" (Bilik), "Manufacturing/Blue Collar Sector" (Kovac); "Construction Sector" (Carlisle); and "Forging a Legislative Agenda for the Labor/Higher Education Council" (Saunders, McGlotten). In the section on labor/higher education initiatives, the following are included: "Facilitating Leaders: Encouraging Talk and Common Action in Democratic Organizations" (Barber); "A Challenge to the Council" (Bernstein); "The State of the Council and Guiding Principles" (Shields); and "Labor/Higher Education Partnerships that Work" (Kaplan, Matusek). A listing of the 56 conference participants is provided, 10 charts, and 2 pages of photographs are included. (CML)

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Priorities for the
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Edited Proceedings
of the
NATIONAL MEETING

November 30-December 2, 1988

Maritime Institute of Technology &
Graduate Studies
Linthicum Heights, Maryland



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The Labor/Higher Education Council

The Labor/Higher Education Council brings together trade union leaders and college and university presidents and chancellors along with the CEOs of higher education associations to discuss issues of mutual concern. Leaders in the American Council on Education and the AFL-CIO agreed in 1983 to found the Council as an institutional membership organization to further understanding and joint activities between these two major segments of American society.

The Council is unique in pursuing these goals on a national level as there is no other similar forum for union and higher education leadership to meet in both formal and informal exchanges. The Council holds an annual National Meeting and publishes the meeting proceedings. It also develops and disseminates joint statements on labor-higher education issues of shared interests. Priorities for the next year or two are to follow the administration's legislative agenda with regard to worker-learner issues, to promote state level labor-higher education partnerships, to document exemplary programs with labor/higher education collaboration and communicate them to both sectors, and above all, to continue the invaluable dialogue initiated through the Council in 1983 which continues today.

Council Objectives

The Council's objectives are:

1. To advance mutual understanding between the American labor movement and American higher education by serving as a forum for ideas and contacts and through exchanges at periodic meetings.
2. To affirm common positions of the American labor movement and American higher education on national problems and matters of mutual interest, and—when appropriate—to engage in coordinated activity in their support.
3. To facilitate understanding on the nation's college and university campuses of the character of work in America and the American labor movement; similarly, to facilitate understanding within the labor movement of the purpose and practices of colleges and universities in American society.
4. To determine ways colleges and universities can improve their educational programs to meet the needs of the labor movement, and ways the labor movement can be supportive of the goals of higher education.

The National Meetings

The Council has held National Meetings in 1983 (George Meany Center for Labor Studies), 1985 (University of Houston), 1986 (George Meany Center), 1987 (San Francisco). The National Meeting attracts between 50-75 union and higher education leaders for two-day sessions, and includes a blend of outstanding speakers and panelists with opportunities for intensive interaction and small group discussion. Informal dialogue is encouraged. Periodically, the Council issues joint statements on important legislative issues of mutual concern.

PREFACE

This volume is the product of the National Meeting of the Labor/Higher Education Council held from November 30-December 2, 1988 at the Maritime Institute of Technology & Graduate Studies (MITAGS). The Institute is the training facility of the International Organization of Masters, Mates & Pilots. The seven-year old Council is sponsored jointly by the American Council on Education (ACE) and the AFL-CIO. The National Meeting's theme, "Priorities for the New Administration on Work-Learning Issues," arose from ACE and AFL-CIO shared concerns about the educational priorities of the Bush Administration, with special emphasis on those issues that affect higher education opportunities for workers and their families.

The speakers, panelists, and discussion leaders were drawn from the ranks of the Council's membership in the colleges and universities and in the international unions. The Meeting had a distinct flow—from general commentary about the incoming administration by a known and respected political analyst to priority setting by the participants; from projections on the future work force and work place by a panel of experts to the implications of these projections for distinct labor sectors, led by trade union leaders; and from discussions of the Council's future activities to a specific legislative agenda. Discussion of statewide labor-higher education programs and a regional union-higher education partnership capped the program.

Forty-five union leaders and staff interacted with senior college and university administrators in the two-day program. The participants set out an agenda for the Council which has the support of both communities, one that will be worked on over the next few years. The true importance of the Council's National Meeting, however, lies in the personal contacts, exchanges, and intense deliberations as the union and higher education leaders sought common ground on issues of mutual concern. They did this amicably, in the spirit of a shared enterprise, knowing that these common positions and activities will assist both workers and our higher education institutions as the Council proceeds to carry out its goals over the next few years.

The Council's National Meeting at MITAGS owes its success to the full support offered by Robert H. Atwell, President of ACE, Lane Kirkland, President of the AFL-CIO, and Thomas R. Donahue, Secretary-Treasurer, AFL-CIO. The Council's Steering Committee was instrumental in setting the guidelines for the National Meeting and in suggesting speakers and panelists.

This publication of the National Meeting Proceedings was produced with the cooperation of the ACE and the AFL-CIO. It is the hope of all those associated with the Council that it will make some contribution to the development of stronger, more effective labor/higher education partnerships at all levels.

INTRODUCTION

Why We're Here

Thomas R. Donahue is Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO, Washington, D.C.



I welcome you on behalf of the AFL-CIO to the Fifth Annual Meeting of the Labor/Higher Education Council. Individually, you represent the diversity of labor and higher education in our country.

We're here in a search for ways our respective organizations can reinforce one another. In fact, this Annual Meeting of the Council can reaffirm our shared commitment to a better educated and better employed America. We've been involved in this joint endeavor for six years, but the principle that motivates all of us is neither new to the ACE or the AFL-CIO. Each of us has pursued this goal for a long time. Through our combined resources, we exercise the belief—basic to the trade union movement and to higher education—that none of us can achieve individually as much as all of us can achieve collectively.

The Council is important. Since its founding in 1983, it has served as a medium for finding common ground for dialogue between labor and higher education, and for devising common strategies to pursue a national agenda.

We agree that our greatness as a nation depends on the capacities and performance of our educational system.

We share with Disraeli the conviction that "on the education of the people of this country the fate of the people depends."

We share the conviction that the capacity and performance of our educational system depends upon a governmental commitment to apply a sufficient share of our common wealth wisely and well—to educate those who will make up tomorrow's America, and to train and retrain today's workers to meet the changing nature of work in America.

We should allow President Bush to begin his term with a reasonably clean slate, having duly noted his comments on wanting to be known as the "Education President." But labor and higher education should join together to write

on their own slate in large bold letters what it is that higher education and the trade union movement expect from the Bush Administration. We want in government a partner in the fight to open wide the doors to education. We want adequate government support and a full commitment to job training. These

"Through our combined resources, we exercise the belief—basic to the trade union movement and to higher education—that none of us can achieve individually as much as all of us can achieve collectively."

goals should be at the heart of our shared agenda as the nation experiences a new administration.

Issues involved in education, training, retraining, and the future of education for working people in America will be explored in detail over the next two days. We hope the sharp and candid expressions of views at this meeting—and the good-natured give-and-take—will enliven our deliberations and hopefully enlighten us all.

For all these reasons, I am delighted to welcome you and open the Council's Annual Meeting.



Robert H. Atwell is President, ACE, Washington, D.C.

We've been through a period of eight years in the higher education business in Washington where we've had an adversarial relationship with the administration. We've certainly not had an adversarial relationship with the Congress. I echo Tom Donahue's sentiments that we have an opportunity to do better

in this regard. I think we should seize the opportunity as representatives of higher education and labor.

The meeting of the Labor/Higher Education Council's Steering Committee, which met this afternoon, is a good omen. Some solid and substantial ideas were hammered out in good spirit.

Education and labor should make a serious effort to work with the new administration. We're committed to that. Our agendas overlap, and we have a sense of a common purpose and program. For higher education, we're grateful to the AFL-CIO for joining us in this promising joint venture, just six years old. We both have modest aspirations and we look forward to a good national meeting.



Edward A. Mohler is Secretary-Treasurer, Maryland State and DC AFL-CIO, Annapolis

I would like to welcome you to Maryland on behalf of the Maryland State and DC AFL-CIO, and bid you a successful seminar. You're in our jurisdictional area so I was asked to discuss briefly the workings of our AFL-CIO state federation, or "state central body."

The AFL-CIO has 50 state federations and a state central body in Puerto Rico. The Maryland State and DC AFL-CIO is unique in that it encompasses both the state of Maryland and our nation's capital.

We have great variety in our union affiliations because of the number of international unions in our area, whereas some state federations may have only a few represented. Within our jurisdiction, we have five local central labor councils, or "local central bodies"—the Baltimore Council of AFL-CIO Unions; the Metropolitan Washington Council, AFL-CIO (including seven counties in Virginia); the Western Maryland Central Labor Council; the Central Maryland AFL-CIO Council; and the Del-Mar-Va Peninsula Central Labor Council (Eastern Shore).

Our state charge is to carry out the policies of our AFL-CIO affiliated unions who meet in convention every two years. From the convention, the unions give instructions to the state federation to carry out those policies.

Given the diversity of the AFL-CIO affiliated unions operating in our state, it is only natural that they will have differing goals and agendas. Still, most of our state-level activity breaks down into three major categories. **Political activities** include working to get friends of labor elected, get out the vote campaigns, and negotiations with elected public officials. **Legislative activities** include monitoring legislation at the state capital, encouraging support for AFL-CIO endorsed legislation, and working with our state and national elected representatives to further labor's legislative interests. **Educational activities** include working with the George Meany Center on the Associate Degree Program, Morgan State University's bachelor's program in labor studies, and the University of the District of Columbia's Labor Education Program. We also support internal union educational programs and national programs such as this National Meeting. So we're happy the Council decided to come to Maryland.



*Ernest R. Grecco is President of the Metropolitan
Baltimore Council of AFL-CIO Unions*

I am President of the Baltimore City Central Labor Council, one of 210 AFL-CIO affiliates throughout the county. One of our current educational priorities is the introduction of labor studies into the public schools. We've created a partnership with the City's Department of Education, and we're supporting a joint essay-writing contest on "Why I Should Buy American-Made Products." Ten unions have put up the prizes of \$1,000 (1st), \$750 (2nd), and \$500 (3rd).

We've also won a grant of \$330,000 from the U.S. Department of Labor in cooperation with the Maryland State Department of Education for a major Workers' Literacy Project. We are conducting 3 classes for 50 students each to upgrade their basic skills in preparation for the G.E.D.

We've also created a Labor-Management Committee under another grant to enroll functionally illiterate workers, whose jobs are being eliminated, in adult education programs. The goal is to increase their basic skills and retrain them. Classes meet for 12-15 weeks, 2 hours a day for 2 days a week, so we're asking for a sizeable commitment. We use the Transit Workers hall for classes and provide child care and transportation expenses. We've had good success with the program.

NATIONAL TRENDS

Columnist and political analyst **Jack Germond** of the *Baltimore Sun* keynoted the National Meeting by looking at the 1988 Presidential Election in the context of national political trends, and provided the participants with his forecasts of what we can expect from the new administration. Participant discussion followed.

Rudy Oswald, Director of the Department of Economic Research, AFL-CIO, moderated a panel which projected what the work force and the work place could look like in the year 2000. The panel included **C. Emily Feistritz**, Director of the National Center for Education Information in Washington, D.C., and **Henry C. Kelly**, Senior Associate with the U.S. Congress' Office of Technology Assessment. Discussion followed the panel.

Following the panel, four senior labor leaders led small group discussions in their respective work force sectors—White Collar/Professional, Public Employee, Manufacturing/Blue Collar, and Construction.

Finally, **Charles Saunders**, Senior Vice President for Governmental Relations, ACE and **Robert McGlotten**, Director of the Department of Legislation, AFL-CIO, led the participants in a discussion of legislative issues that are of joint concern to labor and higher education, and the positions of the ACE and AFL-CIO, respectively, on these issues.

What We Can Expect From the New Administration

JACK GERMOND

Jack Germond is a journalist with the BALTIMORE SUN, has a syndicated column, "Politics Today," with the CHICAGO TRIBUNE Syndicate, is a TV panelist with "The McLaughlin Group," and is an author and political analyst.



I'll talk about the general context for American politics, and then what the new administration faces.

General Context for National Politics

The central question of American politics since 1980, since the election of Ronald Reagan, is whether his election was an aberration or a long-term transformation of American politics.

Clearly, it has been more than an aberration. The center of American politics has moved several degrees to the right. However, it is far from clear whether we have undergone a basic political transformation. We're an evolutionary rather than a revolutionary system, so we usually measure these things by election returns, and the election returns don't point to major changes.

In 1982, we had a recession followed by a conventional election, yet the people in power were not blamed. In 1984, despite the size of Reagan's victory, we were unable to draw many inferences. Mondale was probably the wrong candidate because he allowed Reagan to make the election a referendum on the past, not the future of the country. In 1986, the Democrats recaptured the Senate. The Republicans paid the price for 1980 when they put up poor candidates in several states, and the electorate replaced them in 1986.

The 1988 Presidential Campaign

In 1988, Michael Dukakis was a representative of "activist" Democrats, as much as any candidate the party could have nominated, advocating and practicing what the Democratic Party represents.

George Bush, on the other hand, is the quintessential "mainstream" Republican. He's not Ronald Reagan. He simply couldn't win solely on the strength of his personality.

What we got was a "mindless campaign," the worst I've ever seen! Bush's

campaign was one of "staggering irrelevance." Dukakis ran a campaign of "ineffectuality." They never joined on the real issues, so the voters chose the least risky candidate—George Bush.

You ask if there has been a change in the political landscape? Did Bush get a "mandate?" John F. Kennedy was elected by one percentage point—but he still had a "mandate to govern." Bush obviously has no mandate on any specific issue as he avoided any debate on the issues.

I recall in early September when Dukakis detailed a bold, serious, and important plan for higher education at Kean College in New Jersey. At the same time, George Bush appeared in Boston with a police union which supported him. Guess what appeared on the evening TV news? Yet for the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and the *Los Angeles Times*, the Dukakis

"So the Democratic Party below the presidential level is healthy. There is no evidence after eight years of Ronald Reagan of any basic realignment of the Republican Party. The party is no better off in the cities, probably worse with labor because of Reagan's positions on issues of concern to labor, and the prospect is for 'dead-center politics,' a political stalemate for four years."

plan was front-page news. Even so, all the newspapers together didn't have the clout of a few minutes on the TV news.

George Bush understood this, and used it to his advantage. I think the networks are embarrassed by their coverage of the whole campaign. They're almost self-conscious about such a mindless campaign.

Looking Ahead: Issues Facing Bush

Let's look ahead. I think the Democrats will approve a plan to make higher education more easily available to middle-class families. It'll look like the Dukakis plan, but I've no idea where George Bush will stand on it. Bush faces some hostility in Congress, and he's particularly weak in the House. Some of the Democrats have a long memory and haven't forgotten the past cam-

paign. I see *four issues* that could prove decisive in how President Bush does in the first four years of his presidency:

1. **Aid to the Contras.**—This issue is important to the extreme right and the Republican Party. It is a "dead issue," but the Right Wing doesn't know it, although it is important to Bush in terms of their support.

2. **Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI).**—Bush, in his campaign, seemed to be backing away from SDI. He may be paying lip service to SDI as he doesn't have the fervor and emotional commitment to the concept that Ronald Reagan brought. It is an important issue to certain elements of his party.

3. **The Federal Deficit.**—The biggest and most serious long-term fight obviously will be about the federal deficit. Bush is hamstrung by his "read my lips" promise. He's going to have to take the initiative himself if he is to make a dent on the deficit problem. But the early outlines of the new administration are clear—the principal areas for substantial cuts are in farm subsidies, assaults on the Medicare Program, and cuts in other smaller social programs. But he won't be able to sell cuts in social programs to this Congress unless revenue measures go with it. In my opinion, people would accept higher taxes to pay for programs that they believe will be effective.

4. **Strategic Arms Reductions (START).**—Based on opinion polls, a great many Americans might welcome new START talks. Gorbachev wants a 50 percent reduction, Bush is committed to START. Both parties are looking suspiciously at strategic negotiations and prospects of an arms treaty. People seem to want limits after 40 years of MAD (Mutually Assured Destruction). But is this the best answer? I'm not sure, unless it is accompanied by a dramatic reduction in conventional forces balance. I think we'll get a START Treaty within a year, but I'd be surprised if it would be ratified in a year.

State of the Democratic Party

Democrats have strong grounds for encouragement. The party machinery in the states is in better shape than when the election campaign started, as many of the funds raised nationally went to the states. On the other hand, the "Old Democratic Coalition" is shrinking, although Dukakis held it together reasonably well. For example, he received 74 percent of the Jewish vote, 65-67 percent of the Hispanic vote, 88 percent of the Black vote (down from Mondale's percentage), and 55-65 percent of union households. But all this is still not enough to elect a Democratic president. Even so, the old coalition gives a Democrat a substantial base.

Republican success at the presidential level won't affect the state legislatures and the redistricting that will take place after the 1990 Census. The Democrats made some gains in the state legislatures and a few governors' seats. So the Democratic Party below the presidential level is healthy. There is no evidence after eight years of Ronald Reagan of any basic realignment of the Republican Party. The party is no better off in the cities, probably worse with

labor because of Reagan's positions on issues of concern to labor, and the prospect is for "dead-center politics," a political stalemate for four years.

The Next Four Years

Bush said he'll be an "Education President," but offered no specifics, never saying anything to support this proposition or coming up with any plans beyond what is already happening.

Tom Donahue offered President Bush a "clean slate," and we're all hopeful there'll be some pleasant surprises. But it looks like we're in for a "caretaker government"—much like government under Dwight Eisenhower. But the times are more complex and more dangerous, and we may not be able to afford that kind of government. So I'm not looking forward to exciting times or great progress in dealing with either domestic or international problems in the next four years.

Year 2000 Work Place/ Work Force Projections

PANEL DISCUSSION

Rudy Oswald, Director of the AFL-CIO Department of Economic Research, moderated this panel discussion. Panelists included C. Emily Feistritzer, Director of the National Center for Education Information, Washington, D.C., and Henry C. Kelly, Senior Associate of the Library of Congress' Office of Technology Assessment.

RUDY OSWALD (Moderator): After our panel discussion, we'll be exploring in small groups the meaning and implications of our work place/work force projections for higher education, for unions, and for workers in four major sectors: White Collar/Professional, Public Employees, Manufacturing/ Blue Collar, and Construction.

As we noted in our recent AFL-CIO Report, "Workers and Their Jobs in the Year 2000,"¹ one of the major challenges I see ahead is that two out of three people will be entering the work force in the next decade. The work force will therefore be larger, with increasing numbers of women and minority groups. This means we have to consider how jobs will change, and the challenge in terms of the education people will need to fill these jobs.

There are also implications of the work force projections for how we retrain people. Our unions will have to increasingly worry about collectively bargaining for member-employee education and training programs. Higher education will be encouraged to continue the trends towards continuing education and worker education and training, especially in the community college.

To begin our panel discussion, C. Emily Feistritzer will lead off with an analysis of the demographics of the work force over the next decade.



¹AFL-CIO, "Workers and Their Jobs in the Year 2000," Report No. 22, Economic Research Department (December, 1988).

C. EMILY FEISTRITZER: I want to talk about the excessive hand wringing concerning labor force projections, taking off from my article in the *Washington Post* last August.¹ In the article, I described the challenge of meeting the educational levels required by the changing nature of the job market in the years ahead. Much has been made of the hand-wringing approach. Will we have enough college graduates or enough people with the required education to meet the job demands 10-12 years from now?



Anyone can play with the numbers—you can pick any isolated set of statistics to bolster any argument you want to make. But let's look at some of the isolated statistics—those that have to do with whether we're going to have the educated people needed to meet the job requirements of the future—in the context of the overall population.

According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, we all know we're going to need over 21 million additional workers by the year 2000, an 18 percent growth (using 1986 as the base year):

Table 1
Work Force 2000
(Millions)

1986	2000	Work Force Increase	Percentage
117.8	139.0	21.2	18%

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Work Force 2000" (June, 1987).

Overlooked in the projected 18 percent growth of the work force is the fact that the rate is one-half the growth over the last 14 years. So future labor demands, while they look impressive in terms of raw numbers—21 million sounds like a lot of workers—when put in the perspective of the last 25 years, it is only one-half the past rate of growth, just as our population will be growing at only one-half the rate over the next several decades.

Of the 21 million people who will be added to the labor force who are not currently in it, 31 percent (6.6 million) will be people who will be required to have at least a baccalaureate degree. Some 3 million will be executive/managerial roles and 3.6 million in professional speciality occupations for a total of 6.6 million.

Interestingly, in 1986 (the latest year for which these kinds of data were available), there were 24 million people (of 111 million total in the labor force) who fit into these 2 categories—or 22 percent. In the year 2000, with the ad-

¹C. Emily Feistritzer, "Will American Workers be Ready for the 21st Century?" "Education Review," *Washington Post* (August 7, 1988).

ditional 6.6 million people in these categories, with the additional growth in the overall labor force, the proportion of people who require college-level education will go up only 1 percent—to 23 percent of the total labor force.

So, while the labor force in the year 2000 will have an additional number of people in what are known as high-paying jobs—requiring higher levels of education—remember that over three-fourths of the labor force will continue to be people in jobs not requiring these levels of education.

It is also important to remember as we wring our hands about labor force demands by the year 2000 that another set of statistics gets “padded” quite a bit.

Women and Minorities in the Future Work Force

The figures I am referring to are that two-thirds of the growth in the labor force between now and the year 2000 will have to be women and that a larger proportion of the labor force will have to be minorities.

The fact is that gains in educational attainment and labor force participation rates have been higher for women and minorities over the last 15 years than for white males. We have no reason to believe this will stop. The proportion of women now in the labor force is about 44 percent—up from 38 percent in 1972. By the year 2000, women are expected to comprise about 47 percent of the total labor force. That could affect educational attainment and who’s going to school—63 percent of the increase in college enrollments in the last 15 years has been due to women, most of whom are 25 years and older.

Women now constitute about 53 percent of college enrollment in 2- and 4 year colleges and universities. Women are going to college more, getting

“The figures I am referring to are that two-thirds of the growth in the labor force between now and the year 2000 will have to be women and that a larger proportion of the labor force will have to be minorities.”

more degrees, and constituting a greater share of college-degree recipients. They’re qualified to fill the demand for additional college-degree people in the next 10-12 years.

The same is true for minorities. The additional growth in labor force demand will have to be met by minorities, who will constitute 29 percent of the total growth in the labor force. That will still leave 84 percent of the labor force in the year 2000 being white, and 16 percent being all minorities com-

bined. In terms of the 21 million increase in new labor force entrants needed, about 15 million will be white, 3.6 million Black, and 2.4 million Asian/Other.

The biggest increase in labor force participation will come from Hispanics. According to the Census Bureau, Hispanics can be any race—some are white, some are Black. But in the overall population growth of the United States, the greatest increase will be the Hispanic population.

If we look at the total population of the United States—who comprises it, who's going to college, who's getting high school degrees, what the job demands are—I come down on the side of people who don't believe we're "going to hell in a handbasket." The data show that women and minorities are becoming better trained and better educated, and are being overwhelmingly responsive to the *availability* of jobs generally, not just to the *demand* for persons to fill the new positions.

It was only a short time ago in our history that few women, along with small proportions of Blacks and other minorities, even had a high school diploma, much less a college degree. The data show that today we have 2.6 times as many college grads as we had 15 years ago. We are turning out 1 million baccalaureate degrees a year, about 300,000 masters' degrees, and about 32,000 doctorates a year. At this rate, we'll have 15 million new people with degrees available for the workforce over the next 14 years.

Education and Earning Power

I realize that this is extraordinarily simplistic, but it is important to keep these statistics in mind as we consider the hand-wringing approach to solving our problems about education and labor force demand. This is the other side of the "crisis" about having enough college grads, enough people with adequate education, to fill the jobs of the future.

"So, we may have to look to older people (25+) to meet the labor force needs of the next decade."

There is a down side to the notion that we'll have enough people with a good education to fill the jobs. We as a nation believe that everyone should have as much education as he/she can possibly acquire, and government, institutions of higher education, unions, and philanthropic organizations should assist people in acquiring all the education they can get.

But we're running a risk when we link education to economics, to increased earning power, and to labor force needs. We're in danger of creating expectations that we may not be able to deliver on. Remember only 4.4 percent of

all workers in the United States make \$50,000 a year or more—translating into 6 million workers.

The job participation rates among Blacks without college degrees and with less than a high school education declined in each of the last three years, perhaps reflecting the increase in Black enrollment in college. The job participation rate of Blacks with a high school diploma, and those with one-to-three years of college, increased over the last three years.

And, of the 27 million college graduates in the work force today, one in four is in a job that does not require a college degree. So, the business of tying educational levels to income levels, to types of jobs, needs to be looked at seriously. This is especially true as we try to encourage more young people to get more education, to land high-level positions, and to make more money. We may be doing them a disservice. These jobs may not even be there for the one million college graduates we are not turning out annually.

An Aging Workforce

Let me mention one more variable—related to overall population trends. Our work force is getting older, which is probably the strongest argument for a non-teacher shortage. If we look to the 16-19 year olds as a source of meeting labor force needs—teaching, executive, lawyers, the professions—they won't be there to fill these jobs.

The traditional 18-24 college-age student population has been falling since the 1970's, and is expected to continue falling into the late 1990's. So, we may have to look to older people (25+) to meet the labor force needs of the next decade. The "baby boomers"—who hit full force in the 1960's—are now available and ready for jobs that we tend to overlook. It may mean extensive retraining—but they are there.

If we can believe the Bureau of Labor Statistics projections on the work force in year 2000, and they have gained considerable attention, the focus will be on the potential shortage of workers. These figures usually do not reflect the overall lack of workers, but the declining numbers in the younger age groups.

The people are there and available—they're just in the older age group, but we're going to have to retrain them.

RUDY OSWALD: I'd like to raise several points for Emily. You mentioned 21 million more people working from 1986-2000, and our 1988 figures show 18 million. I suppose the difference is in the two years.

Also, we should consider the "replacement factor"—those who will be retiring and replaced by newcomers. There will be 20-25 million workers replacing current workers over the next decade, with the 18 million new workers you mentioned being included.

What's going to drive the statistics? Who are the people who will be coming into the labor force? Who will be from the supply side—those already

working—who will add to the people available for jobs? What will be driving the economy—technological forces? Increased demands for workers? We've asked Henry Kelly of OTA to look at these issues.

HENRY C. KELLY: I am pleased to talk with this group because I am convinced that economic growth and continued generation of good jobs in the U.S. are closely tied to what happens in U.S. education. Most of my analysis will be drawn from OTA's recent report; "Technology and the American Economic Transition."¹

I'd like to build my argument around six propositions:

1. There are stark contrasts in the way technology can shape the future of employment opportunities in the U.S. Technology can be used to break the terrible compromise workers have had to make since the beginning of the first industrial revolution: the need to sacrifice individuality for efficiency and high pay. New technology can be used to increase the diversity of products and services offered in the economy. Such a production system necessarily depends on more people capable of designing and working with customers. Rigid hierarchies do not function well in dynamic production systems. On the other hand the technology can be used to create unprecedented control over individual workers and production may be organized in ways that benefit only an elite minority.
2. There is nothing deterministic about the way technology will be used. The difference between a strategy for using technology that benefits most employees and one that benefits a few depends critically on how the technology is managed. An attractive outcome requires increased investment in production techniques that offer attractive employment opportunities, and a work force trained to take the jobs produced. There is reason to be concerned on both accounts.
3. The quality of U.S. education and training programs are key to the way technology will be used. A poorly trained work force could tempt producers to try to design around poorly trained employees. This strategy that seems unlikely to fare well in a highly competitive world marketplace. Many U.S. competitors have work forces with extremely good educations. Comparisons between the quality of a U.S. worker's high-school education and the quality of a high-school education in Japan or Taiwan is often not flattering to the U.S.



¹Office of Technology Assessment, U.S. Congress, *Technology and the American Economic Transition: Choices for the Future* (Washington, DC: U.S. Congress, 1988).

4. Education of the existing work force in the U.S. is facing a serious test. Many young workers are now coming from minorities traditionally poorly served by the system. And there is an explosive demand for training older workers—a task for which the existing system of education is not well equipped.
5. New technologies offer a unique set of tools for helping increase the productivity of learning and teaching and to meet the new demands placed on the system by minorities and older workers. Information technology has been used to increase productivity and make businesses more sensitive to shifting demands in much of the U.S. economy. There is no reason why the technology can not do the same for education. But taking advantage of the potential to serve new markets with new

“Education of the existing work force in the U.S. is facing a serious test. Many young workers are now coming from minorities traditionally poorly served by the system. And there is an explosive demand for training older workers—a task for which the existing system of education is not well equipped.”

tools may require a fundamental change in the management of education in the U.S.

6. Institutions of higher education in the U.S. have an obvious responsibility to help. They have not made the contribution they can or should make.
 - Priorities in post-secondary education have never been seriously reexamined. We still offer too few alternatives to standard academic curricula or academic settings. We have not adapted to the fact that many older workers need to learn new skills or upgrade old ones.
 - The analytical work performed in schools of business and economics around the country have not contributed as much as they could to an analysis of the way economic change translates into changes in demands for people with different kinds of skills. Most bookkeeping still treats education as an “expense” and national accounts treat education as “consumption” instead of investment. Too much analysis still counts worker inputs in terms of hours instead of recognizing that worker skills are often the most critical input to pro-

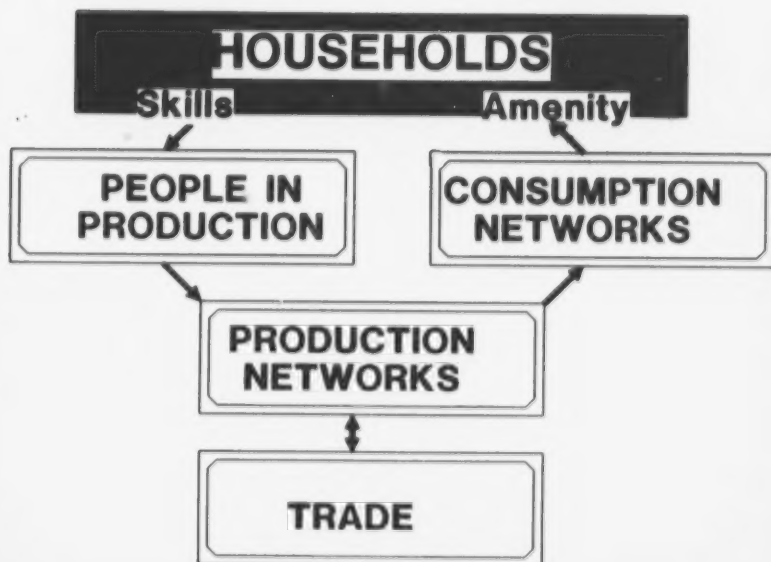
duction. There is little work on the price paid by firms basing flexibility on an ability to hire and fire easily rather than on building flexibility into an experienced work force positioned to learn new skills quickly. We know a lot about the costs of unused capital equipment but little about the costs of unused skills. We know about "depreciation of capital" and "shrinking funds" but have no sinking funds to help retrain workers.

- Finally, institutions of higher education have seldom given serious attention to their own productivity—either the productivity of teaching or the productivity of the way their students learn. New technologies, new discoveries about how people learn, and new demands for learning skills on the job should force a reexamination of instructional technique.

Structural Changes in the Economy—Looking at the Charts

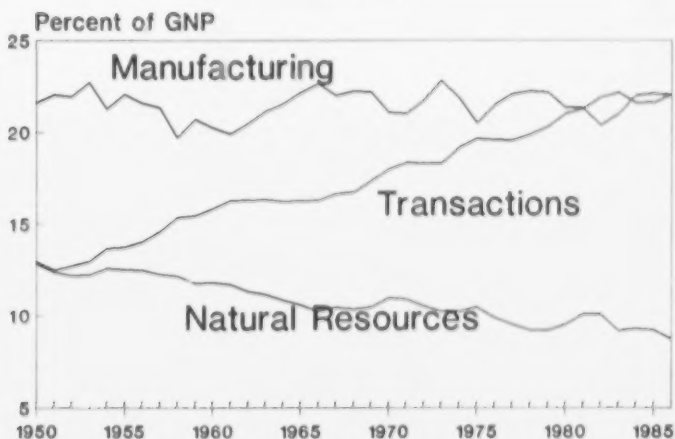
Let's look at some charts showing the structural changes underway in the economy. Chart 1 illustrates the conversion of demands for goods and services into jobs, and we've seen dramatic changes in each level. The purpose of the chart is to show the interdependence of increases in skill levels through education with how production takes place and subsequent increases in consumption.

Chart 1: Connecting Skills and Amenity



Let's look at Chart 2, at the change in businesses that comprise the American economy. *Transactions* (lawyers, insurance, real estate) has grown steadily and dramatically over the last several decades—the much-touted “service industry” revolution. *Manufacturing* seems to be holding its share, in spite of the dire predictions about the decline of the smokestack industries. And *Natural Resources* has declined, perhaps related to the depletion of these sources.

Chart 2: Changing Shares of GNP
(in Constant 1982\$)



Another interesting way to look at the national economy (Chart 3) is the investment in Information Equipment as a percentage of all business equipment purchased. The percentage is up dramatically in the last 15 years, with 40 percent of all equipment now in this category—not machine tools. This has to signify changes in the structure of business enterprises, including changes in the makeup of occupations. What Chart 4 depicts is a rapid growth in the Professional/Administrative/Managerial occupations, and a dramatic decline in employment opportunities for people who work with their hands.

**Chart 3: Investment in Information
Equipment as a Percent of all
Investment in Producer Durables**

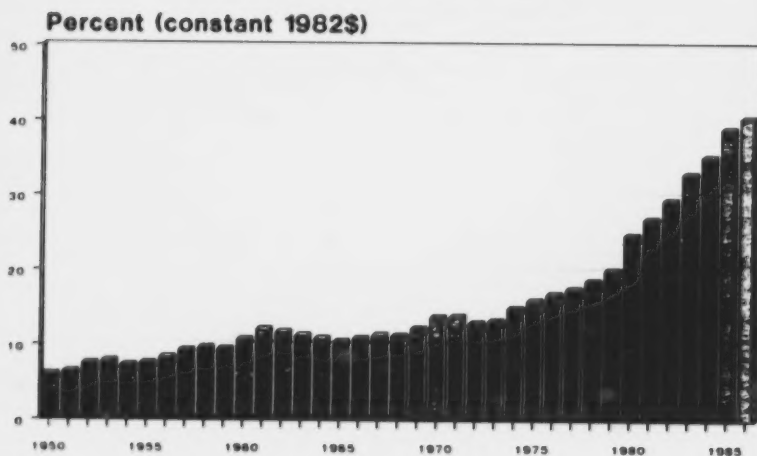
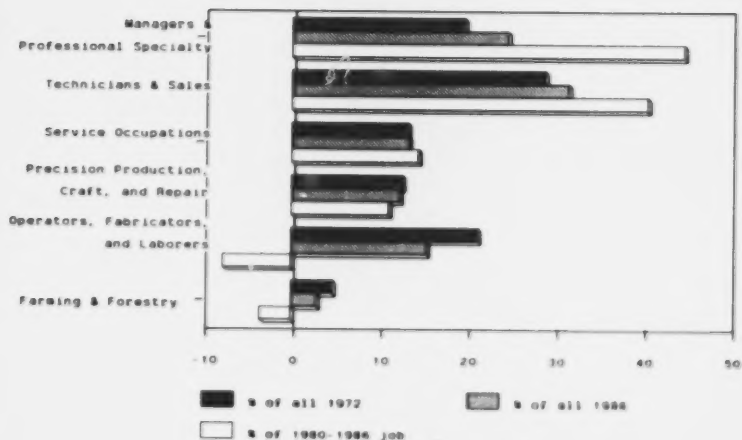
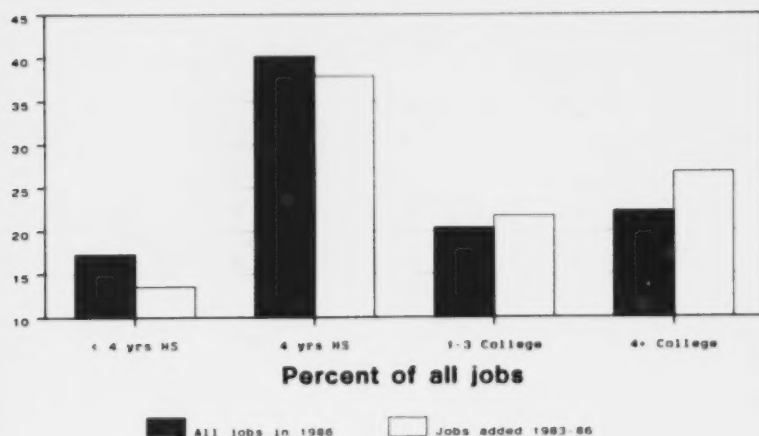


**Chart 4: New Jobs and Existing Jobs
by Occupation**



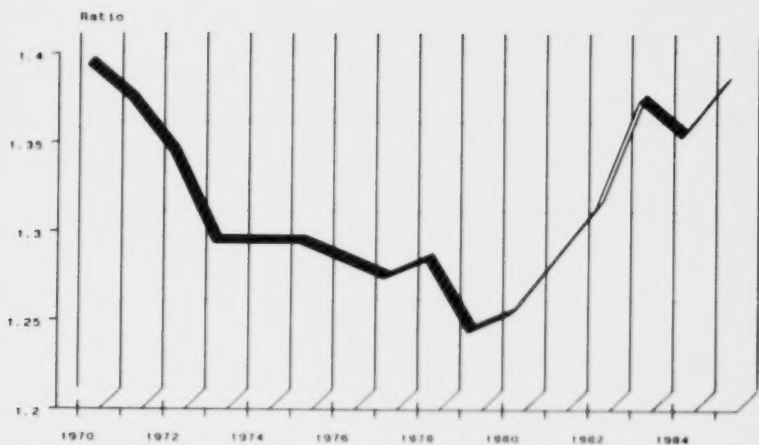
How does the increase in job share for these occupations translate into education? Chart 5 shows that if we have a surplus of college grads, then these grads may well be taking jobs that used to be held by people without college degrees. For example, in the clerical category, the tasks were formerly easy with a high school degree. Offices are now much more complicated with vastly increased skill levels. As education requirements change, illustrated in Chart 5, we may be moving towards an inequality based on education attainment.

Chart 5: The Growing Demand for Education (percent of jobs for indicated level of education)



Education is also a significant factor in income distribution, as depicted in Chart 6, which shows a striking increase since 1980 in inequality in earned income between college grads and high school grads, reinforcing the point I made at the beginning about increasing gaps in income based on education—indicative of the increased demand for professionals and other service personnel.

**Chart 6: Does it Pay to Graduate
From College? (Income of College Grads
to Income of High School Graduates)**



As a society, we can also say that people with poor education are going to have a progressively hard time adjusting to the new work force demands, and one indicator is that unemployment is increasingly correlated with lack of education (Chart 7). This situation, always present in advanced economies, has intensified with the downturns in the economy since the mid-1970's. The number of people who changed occupations in 1986-87 was 10.4 percent of all women, and 9.6 percent of all men. Of the people who changed jobs, those with higher education levels usually had an easier time finding new employment because of the new demands. Even in retraining, one-third of the people with the college degree were engaged in some form of training program in 1984.

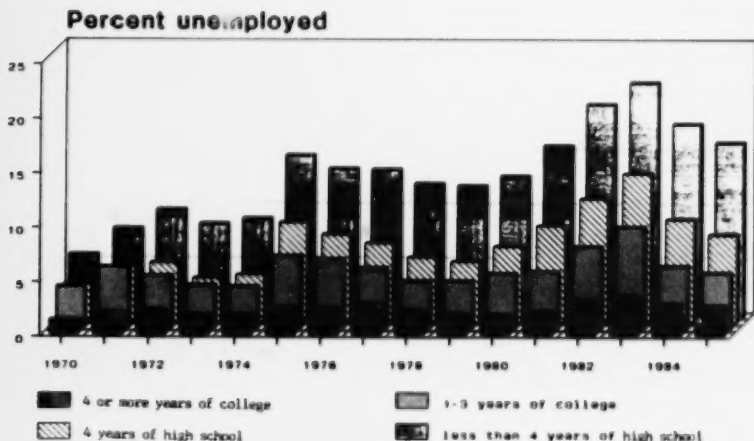
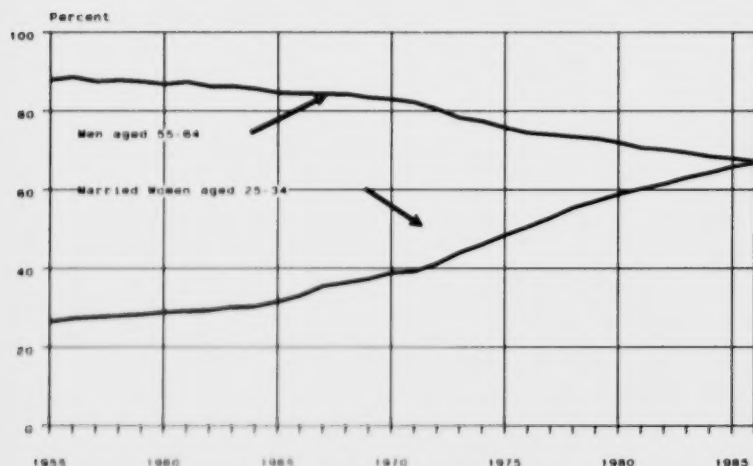


Chart 7: Who Bears the Burden of Change? (unemployment and education)

The differential for advanced education shows up in another way. By looking at the work force participation rate for older men and married women (Chart 8), we see a striking increase since the early 1970's in women of child-bearing age (25-34), coupled with a decline in participation by older men (55-65). This chart suggests that many older men may be unable to find jobs matching their wage expectations, and are retiring as an alternative.

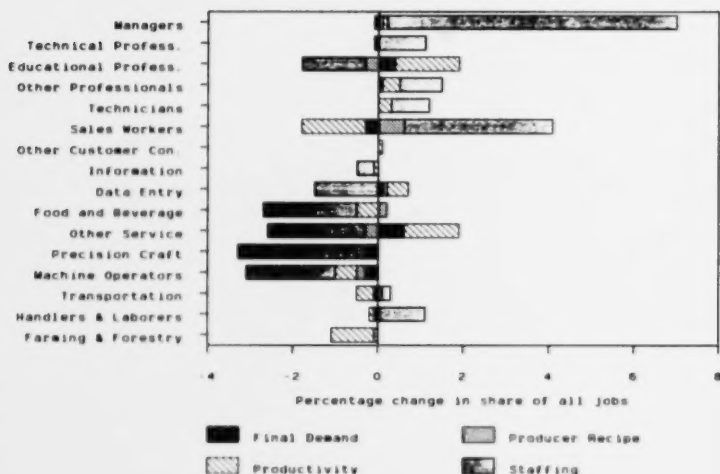
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**Chart 8: Workforce Participation
for Older Men and Young Married Women**



Let's consider the major production networks—see Chart 9. What we see are increasing demands for people in jobs that traditionally require higher education—managers, technical professionals, education and other professionals, sales, and other services. Most of the change—from “manufacturing” to “transactional activity”—comes about due to staffing patterns—across different kinds of businesses. The decline in laborers and the increase in professions-sales workers and managers has meaning for education. The pattern indicates that the more rapidly you innovate, the more rapidly you increase the demand for education, particularly college-level personnel.

Chart 9: Why Occupation Shares May Change

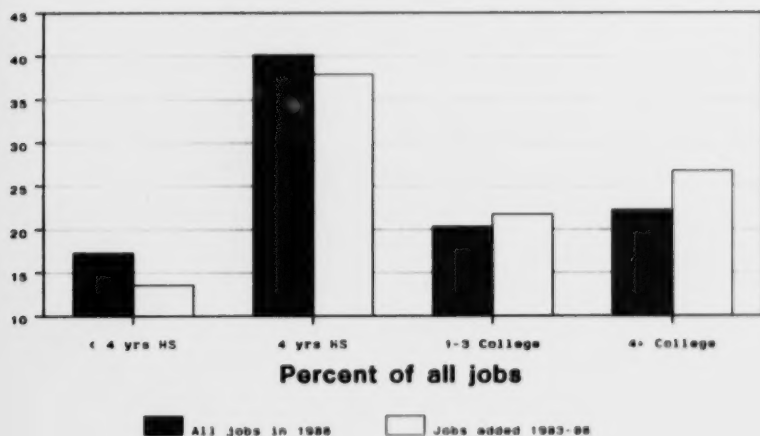


Let me offer an example. The American construction industry is decentralized and productivity has been relatively unchanged. Could it be changed by technology? In Sweden, 90 percent of the housing is prefabricated in factories; in Japan, it is 50-60 percent. Both countries have highly-automated production facilities. And production is linked to sales, with an employment mix of professionals and construction workers radically different from our construction industry. If we were to move to greater manufacturing productivity in construction, we would need more highly skilled workers at all levels.

The Swedes have a conscious labor policy in housing construction to increase worker skills, increase "team" approaches, and increase communications skills among the architects, managers, and workers. My proposition is that we can exercise greater choices in our occupational mix by altering the production mix.

My final chart (Chart 10) illustrates that we need public support for education beyond the high school level. By the year 2005, 28 percent of our jobs will require a college education contrasted with 20 percent today, whereas jobs with a high school education or less than a high school education will decline.

Chart 10: The Growing Demand for Education (percent of jobs for indicated level of education)



Supporting college education could be a good use of public resources, encouraging a lifetime commitment to education and training. But how do we insinuate this idea into the work place? We know that those with education tend to go for more across a life span, so if workers get more education, they'll get more education and training. Finally, how do we deliver education for workers? Should education be centralized on college campuses, or decentralized where workers live and work?

Discussion

RUDY OSWALD: Emily noted that 23 percent of the labor force will have college degrees by year 2000, and 77 percent will not. Since those with education usually demand more, how will institutions of higher education deal with the increased problems of education and training for both those with degrees and those without?

HENRY KELLY: You're right. Only 20 percent of those workers with a ninth grade education or less are currently in any training/retraining pro-

gram, or education program, yet a high proportion of those with professional degrees are involved in education and training. If we consider that 60 percent of the labor force falls in the category of less than college but more than the ninth grade, then this is a vast pool of workers for training, retraining, and education.

As you pointed out, either people are "on the bus" or "off the bus." Those with education get more. They're comfortable in training situations. Those not able to take advantage of training are the real dilemma—how do we reach them? Perhaps we have to build educational programs right into the work place itself.

RUDY OSWALD: A related issue is plant closings. How do we use educational facilities to help those workers make adjustments? What's the role of our colleges and universities when a plant closes?

JACK GOLODNER: I sense a contradiction here. You've all pointed out the need for more college-trained people, based on the increased skill levels of jobs. On the other hand, 20-25 percent of our college grads are not working in the fields for which they were trained. Four-year college education has expanded, we've got an increasing number of high school grads going to college, but Emily Feistritz says that only 6.6 million jobs will require a college degree by year 2000. Are we overtraining people?

C. EMILY FEISTRITZER: There is no question that there will be increased demands for higher education levels for the new jobs of the next 15-25 years. Job demands will be linked increasingly to educational levels, and we're probably going to be producing more than enough people with the levels of education to fill the new job demands. I was only questioning the assumption that more education translates directly into more earnings. That's questionable, and we may be building expectations that we cannot deliver on.

We should invest in education, as much for each individual as possible. But we cannot promise absolutely a better job and more money.

I'm intrigued by Henry Kelly's charts, but may have a different interpretation for Chart 8—males over 55 and younger married women. For an employer, younger married women are cheaper than 55-year old men with years of experience. There are a lot of men over 55 with less than a high school education making more than a 25-year old woman with a college degree. I believe these men would fight for additional job training to keep their job and income level.

RUDY OSWALD: On the same chart, it may just indicate that union-negotiated pension plans are working, allowing workers to retire with dignity or change careers. I'm not upset that older men can retire and not have to work until they die.

HENRY KELLY: What proportion are leaving voluntarily? Not all the women are getting good jobs. And the biggest problem is the income gap between the college and the non-college group.

RUDY OSWALD: There's still another gap. The starting salary for an MBA is \$55-65,000. Do universities start faculty members at that level?

CHRISTINE MATUSEK: Many of our members in the Minnesota unions cannot afford a college education, even if they wanted to return to school. They don't have the money to do it. Who should pay for it? Who should benefit?

RUDY OSWALD: Your question relates to a new student. What about a person 5-10-20 years or more out of school who needs retraining? How can he/she afford to go back to school? Any discussion?

C. EMILY FEISTRITZER: The issue of higher education costs and financial assistance is high on everyone's agenda, and is a continuing concern. There are scholarships and financial aid packages available for high school students, but few for mature workers. My understanding is that you can go back to college at any age and that you are theoretically eligible for student aid.

ROBERT ATWELL: There is a "needs test" available for people who are less than one-half time to make them eligible for Federal grants and Guaranteed Student Loans. What it doesn't address, of course, is "earnings foregone." There's nothing to deal with that.

RUDY OSWALD: One of the greatest difficulties is where can workers go to find out about their availability.

HENRY KELLY: Companies spend \$30 billion annually on education and training, including wages for people being trained. But there is a continuing inequality in who gets trained, an inequality between the white collar and the blue collar worker.

Work Force/Work Place Projections and Implications for Education— By Sector

Four labor leaders led discussions with the participants on how the panel's projections might influence their sectors, with emphasis on what implications the projections hold for education.

White Collar/Professional Sector

**DISCUSSION LEADER: JACK GOLODNER, Director
Department for Professional
Employees, AFL-CIO**

We addressed several ideas triggered by the discussion on projections. We talked about the concept of "dumbing down" jobs, a decrease in mental contributions (e.g., use of bar codes in supermarkets, pictures on cash registers, etc.). In white collar jobs, automation will decrease the need for intellect and possibly even for personnel. People are becoming "deskilled," and some traditionally prestigious white collar jobs are losing their lustre. Other issues included:

- Individual workers will need a breadth of knowledge for mobility as jobs change and fields go out of fashion.

"Labor must be sufficiently organized so owners and the marketplace cannot randomly displace workers. Too often, corporate greed is the prime motivator for introducing new technology. If there is worker displacement, we must be concerned about the training needs of the displaced, and the training should be paid for by the government or employer."

- As white collar employees see their jobs being phased out, they'll go back for education and training, but may have to come back to a cut in salary.
- We need new techniques, a revolutionary system in guidance and decision making. Since there is no planned advancement of technology, can we engineer it through creative thought to improve the quality of life? Will new technologies displace more workers than at the present pace? Or will technology enable us to have more non-work (leisure) time to improve our quality of life?
- Labor must be sufficiently organized so owners and the marketplace cannot randomly displace workers. Too often, corporate greed is the prime motivator for introducing new technology. If there is worker displacement, we must be concerned about the training needs of the displaced, and the training should be paid for by the government or employer.
- We need a full employment policy as a national commitment to a worker's right to a job. Can labor, management, and higher education work together to arrive at such a policy?
- Consider some type of "tax depreciation" for things other than equipment, with the resulting funds to be set aside for training/retraining. Educational opportunity should be expanded through as many means as possible. We must also provide released time for training and retraining, making certain that appropriate jobs are available for those retrained.

Public Sector

**DISCUSSION LEADER: AL BILIK, President
Public Employees Department,
AFL-CIO**

Because the public sector in the United States has always been essentially one of services, the demographic changes projected for the American economy by year 2000 will not drastically affect the government work force. It is already largely white collar, technical, and professional. And because governments tend to more liberal affirmative action principles, the public sector work force is composed of higher educated employees who are often women and minorities.

Governments also have a tradition of merit hiring and in-service training which, combined with benefits such as civil service tenure and pension rights, have encouraged career development.

Unions and public managers have independently and cooperatively sponsored training projects designed to revive and upgrade skills. For example,

"Schools and colleges have a major role in teaching and training the current and prospective public sector work force. But we also need emphasis on long-term planning, a career-dedicated work force, and mutual commitment by labor and management to employee participation in decision making."

New York City's AFSCME and Teamster unions sponsor training programs which are supervised by local higher education institutions. Costs are borne by funds set up via collective bargaining and administered by the unions. In other educational funds, such as unions in the New York State service, the programs are funded by contract, but are administered by joint committees.

Experimentation with flex-time schedules, parental leave, and childcare centers is well underway in the public sector and could serve as models for private enterprise. The planning and conduct of public education is increasingly becoming a joint endeavor between professional teachers and administrators. Dade County, Florida, Pittsburgh, and Hammond, Indiana, for instance, are examples of cooperative programs designed by AFT locals and school superintendents.

Madison, Wisconsin and Jackson County, Oregon are examples of government units in which employee involvement in decision making has resulted in improved efficiency and savings to the taxpayers. Employees are encouraged to learn more about the agency than simply their basic jobs. Costly turnover and absenteeism have been reduced in all the above efforts.

Schools and colleges have a major role in teaching and training the current and prospective public sector work force. But we also need emphasis on long-term planning, a career-dedicated work force, and mutual commitment by labor and management to employee participation in decision making. Higher education institutions might also apply these principles to their own internal affairs. Part-time professionals and contracted support staff threaten in some institutions to outnumber employees on a career, full-time track.



Thomas R. Donahue, Len Oliver and Dorothy Shields.



Robert H. Atwell introduces the panel on "Year 2000: Work Place/Work Force Projections." (From left: Rudy Oswald, C. Emily Feistritz, Robert H. Atwell, and Henry Kelly)



Jack Goldner, Director of the AFL-CIO Department of Professional Employees, leads a discussion on implications of the work place/work force projections for the White Collar/Professional sector.



Robert Pleasure, Director, George Meany Center for Labor Studies, presenting his report.



Robert H. Atwell, ACE, and Dorothy Shields, AFL-CIO are briefed on the MITAG's ship simulator by John Bobb, Academic Director.



Reverend William C. McInnes, President, Association of Jesuit Colleges & Universities, presenting his group report on legislative priorities.



Edward J. Cleary, President, New York State AFL-CIO, leading a roundtable discussion on legislative priorities.



Kenneth Kovac, United Steelworkers of America, leads a discussion on implications of work place/work force projections for the Manufacturing/Blue Collar sector.



L. Gerald Carlisle, Secretary-Treasurer, International Union of Bricklayers and Allied Craftsmen, leads a discussion on implications of the work place/work force projections for the Construction sector.



M. E. Nichols, Executive Vice President, CWA, presenting his roundtable discussion report.



Sheila Kaplan, Chancellor, University of Wisconsin—Parkside, presenting her Roundtable report.

Manufacturing/Blue Collar Sector

DISCUSSION LEADER: KENNETH KOVAC, Assistant Legislative Director, United Steelworkers of America

We talked about *more effective partnerships* for education and training for manufacturing/blue collar workers among labor, management, government, and higher education. Union representatives in our discussion observed that educators tend to have a "one-sided" relationship with business and industry. Many local and regional union leaders are simply not familiar with training opportunities currently available. They asked higher education for a more even-handed approach in relating to local labor leaders. Everyone agreed on the need for more cooperation.

Future retraining needs should be met by the higher educational system, although money for programs may be the problem. Younger people planning for college have more opportunities to apply for support, while older workers,

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especially those with families to support, are in greater need of income maintenance and find it more difficult to secure funding grants. The group concurred that higher education institutions can assist in designing programs to meet any local or area training need, including on-the-job training.

We discussed the retraining requirements of WARN (Worker Adjustment and Retraining Notification Act—Plant Closing and Notification Act), because the law only takes effect in February, 1989. Labor and higher education should follow the regulations drafting process.

There is a need for *funding of programs (and personal maintenance)* for

older workers who want to return to school. As manufacturing work place technology continues to advance, OJT and off-the-job degree programs are appropriate and should be considered. Government grants and loans should be available for older Americans.

We agreed that workers should try to keep up to date in their field or skill to avoid job loss. Management is more aware of what the *future skill gaps* will be. If management consults with educators about such gaps, educators in turn can prepare appropriate education programs to fill the gaps. Persons receiving training in such programs are more likely to go from training to jobs. For example, Rhode Island has funded a program to determine the future labor force needs of the state, which will in part determine the training and retraining needs of workers and jobs. This model should be adopted by other states and higher education systems.

Finally, we talked about the capability of higher education institutions to meet worker training/educational needs; how higher education can reach out to labor union leadership at all levels; encouraging degree programs for workers; and older worker training programs.

CONSTRUCTION SECTOR

DISCUSSION LEADER:

**L. GERALD CARLISLE, Secretary-Treasurer
International Union of Bricklayers & Allied Craftsmen**

Concerning the labor force projections, technological advancements in construction (and other production networks) may require high skill levels and increased education for construction workers in the future. On the other hand,

"The future of the construction worker largely depends, therefore, on the demand for education by individuals, unions, and employers."

the future for this industry may be deskilling. Even prefabrication of housing, as described by Henry Kelly, may lead to deskilling.

We don't see a necessary correlation between technical skill levels and direct labor force needs in construction because a job may be split—a recent engineering grad could take over the skill portion with a downgrading of the

traditional skills. The future of the construction worker largely depends, therefore, on the demand for education by individuals, unions, and employers. For example, will employers try to keep the integrity of broad-based crafts and traditional work groups, or will they encourage deskilling of specific jobs?

As general education levels rise, as we have more high school and college grads, construction workers may begin demanding and pursuing non-occupational-related higher education opportunities. Again, this lies in the hands of both labor and higher education to encourage, and brings in questions of access and credentialing for adult learning.

The evolution of the multi-employer industry may facilitate broad-based worker learning more than in single-employer industries as options for both work and learning open up for construction workers.

FORGING A LEGISLATIVE AGENDA FOR THE LABOR/HIGHER EDUCATION COUNCIL

Dorothy Shields, Director of the AFL-CIO Department of Education, presided over the discussion by Charles Saunders, Vice President for Governmental Affairs, ACE, and Robert McGlotten, Director of AFL-CIO's Department of Legislation.

DOROTHY SHIELDS (Moderator): Charles Saunders and Robert McGlotten are responsible in their respective organizations for the organization's legislative affairs. Both ACE and the AFL-CIO have their own legislative agendas, so we asked them to discuss these priorities with us as they overlap with labor and higher education interests.

CHARLES SAUNDERS: I want to congratulate the Council and its Steering Committee on your new statement of principles and make several points about them and your legislative agenda from ACE's perspective.

In general, the principles recognize the problems we have in obtaining consensus in the higher education community on legislative matters—there's lots of "running room."

Also, the Council's principles are very positive, explicitly stating things we have to do—working together—and not just a "laundry list" of legislative interests submitted to Congress and the Administration.

There are good reasons for not being too specific. Even though the Bush Administration is uncertain on the direction it will take on higher education, we do know the Vocational Education Act (Perkins Act) is up for reauthorization (renewal) and labor and higher education have mutual interests in reorienting this Act to place greater emphasis on postsecondary training.

We also will know some of the dimensions of Bush's "Education Presidency"—which will be revealed in part when George Bush presents his budget. For example, Pell Grants have been underfunded and needs a supplemental request. If the request is not there, awards for several hundred thousand students next fall will be reduced.



We also have concerns about the budget item for first-year funding for Renovation of Research Facilities, a priority for higher education. Inclusion (or exclusion) of this item and support in the budget will be a significant barometer for higher education.

Let's talk a bit more specifically about the Council's principles and ACE's position. We agree on the importance of education to the nation, its contribution to strengthening the economy, and the idea that a strong educational system is part of any national strategy to revitalize the American economy.

"We agree on the importance of education to the nation, its contribution to strengthening the economy, and the idea that a strong educational system is part of any national strategy to revitalize the American economy."

We are for removing barriers to recruitment to higher education, especially for minorities. This is a major ACE priority, and we will continue to do work in that area.

The Council recognizes the important role of the Federal government in funding of education opportunities, as ACE has consistently pointed out. Former Secretary of Education Bennett was fond of citing the figure that the Federal government accounts for only 8 percent of expenditures for education—a "drop-in-the-bucket." But this is misleading in terms of education opportunities. The Federal government provides over 75 percent of the total expenditures for student assistance; 19 percent comes from institutional funds; and 6 percent from the states. Without the Federal government, there would be no national policy for opening up postsecondary opportunities to those who might have difficulty paying.

In terms of the budget resolution process, we are seeking "adequate budget ceilings," and then we'll have to fight for adequate funding. If the ceilings are too low in the budget resolution process, then we'll obviously have nothing to fight for in the appropriations' process.

Labor and higher education have a mutual responsibility to maintain the current momentum for educational reform in our public schools. Higher education for years has been promoting such reform. For example, in *A Nation At Risk* on page 2, the report cites our ACE study, "To Strengthen the Quality of Higher Education," as a way to work together on it.

We also have to strengthen the accreditation process. Over one billion dollars in Pell Grants goes out annually, much without controls. For exam-

ple, some of the Pell Grants go to students in proprietary schools, many lower income, yet many of these schools lack strict controls and regulation in their training and education programs. Contrast this situation with that of the JTPA (Joint Training Partnership Act) which exercises strict controls over state and local level programs.

One other comment—on the issue of “national/community service.” Our concern with the Democratic Leadership Plan, which details a National Service Plan, is that it eliminates all existing student aid programs. Nobody from a poor family will have an opportunity for higher education without going into national service. We’ll be taking a hard look at it and following it closely.

The Council has a good statement and offers splendid reasons for labor and higher education to work together.

ROBERT McGLOTTEN: I also welcome the statement of principles from the Council. They are broad enough and consistent with AFL-CIO policies. At the AFL-CIO, we are looking at the Committees that authorize legislation on education and training. We’re asking what kind of allies do we have on Capitol Hill? For example, the House Education and Labor Committee has nine vacancies. We are working to ensure that the new members are our allies. We’re going to continue to pursue issues like child care and parental leave. And here again, we’ll need sympathetic committee members. In the Senate Education and Human Resources Committee, we’ve lost some good supporters and that concerns us as we’ve always been assured of bipartisan support.

Your Council’s statement of principles helps move us along, as the AFL-CIO has always been supportive of money for education and development, and student aid, and we’ll continue to work on the committees, subcommittees, and the members of both houses on these issues.

President Bush will come out with a statement on education, but what will it mean? We’ve heard them talk about their concerns with the “rate of default” issue—which is usually a buzz word for cutting back on education.

We need an educational program for the Congress, one our friends can support, and your Council can help. International unions have strong cooperation on these issues, but your cooperation is needed because your Council bridges both worlds. We also need your support back home in your communities, perhaps through council-initiated legislative action committees.

In terms of allocation of resources, we need revenue increases to pay for education. Why do we have to fight for exclusion of worker education benefits from taxation, and it’s a hard fight. We got an extension on Section 127 of the tax code to December 31, 1988, but what then?



"Your Council's statement of principles helps move us along, as the AFL-CIO has always been supportive of money for education and development, and student aid, and we'll continue to work on the committees, subcommittees, and the members of both houses on these issues."

It is a fact that companies and unions are willing to sit down and collectively bargain to help reeducate the work force. It benefits the nation, and here we are arguing with the Ways & Means Committee on why extension of Section 127 is important when they are concerned about additional tax loopholes for the business community. That's short-sighted, and the AFL-CIO will do everything it can to assist the Council in its work on this and other labor-higher education issues.

Roundtable Discussions: Setting Priorities for the New Administration

Participants in the Labor/Higher Education Council's National Meeting discussed priorities for the new administration in a series of small, roundtable discussions. Reporters offered the following key labor/higher education issues for the new Administration.

From prior meetings, the Council has periodically issued joint statements on legislative affairs. The roundtable discussions were designed to provide impetus to this process.

General Statement

One of the Roundtable Discussion groups suggested a form of preamble, adopted by the Council, as a prelude to the discussion of legislative priorities, namely that:

The Council recognizes the great diversity of need for education for workers and their families, and encourages responses from a range of interested parties—unions, corporations, government, and higher education. No single approach should dominate.

Further, labor and higher education have many overlapping interests which have not been fully explored or pursued. This is one of the Council's roles.

Labor and higher education should continue to explore the possibilities for solidarity and dialogue on issues of mutual concern, using the Council as a convening forum wherever possible.

"Labor and higher education should continue to explore the possibilities for solidarity and dialogue on issues of mutual concern, using the Council as a convening forum wherever possible."

The most productive procedure for collaboration between labor and higher education should begin with what both sectors have in common and agree on, not with those things that could divide unions and higher education institutions.

Specific Legislative Initiatives

The Federal government should give the highest national priority to the following areas of concern to labor and higher education jointly:

- The Federal government has the responsibility to assure that labor laws continue to support the right of workers to bargain collectively, as much of the opportunity for worker education comes through the collective bargaining process.
- The Federal government should continue to project labor market needs, not narrow short-term marketplace views but long-term "real" needs which can result in occupational dividends. E.g., what will be the jobs of the future and where and what type of education and training will be available to fill jobs in specific geographic locations. Unions, higher education, management, and the government all have responsibility to collect and use this type of information wisely.
- The Federal (and state) government should do everything in its power to improve K-12 education, including development of skills and knowledge to enable students to compete, partnerships between colleges and high schools, overcoming illiteracy, improving conditions in the teaching profession, and enhancement of citizenship programs, among

others. Special attention should be paid to high school dropouts and other "youth-at-risk."

- The Federal government should assist workers in their quest for education and training, including:
 - a tax policy that doesn't discourage workers from returning to school, with tax exemptions for education benefits and continued tax breaks for employers for collectively-bargained education/training programs;
 - removal of restrictions on use of unemployment benefits for workers returning to school, and on welfare payments for people willing to return for college training;
 - allocation of funds for experimental programs for non-traditional students, with concern for low-wage workers, minorities, and women (as both students and teachers);
 - use of the 1990 Census as a vehicle to identify cultural/structural barriers to higher education and training for workers;
 - encouragement to OSHA to increase funding for research and education related to the working environment;
 - enabling the Department of Education to receive its fair share of funding;
 - deployment of officers in Unemployment Offices to provide special educational counseling and assessment for workers interested in returning to school;
 - use of JTPA funds to create "Worker Assistance Centers" which can offer counseling for the educational needs of workers.
- Federal funding for student educational assistance should include eligibility for part-time students, whether half-time or not, and should take into consideration need for campus day-care.
- Federal initiatives for child care and parental leave should be funded as motivating factors for workers who want to return to school.
- Federal regulation and controls are necessary to ensure the quality of education and training for workers through both institutions of higher education and proprietary institutions, and under federal student assistance and collectively-bargained contracts.
- Illiteracy is a serious national problem, and increased Federal funds should be provided to train teachers and provide materials, with emphasis on addressing the problems of workplace illiteracy.
- The Federal government should place increased emphasis on the training of minority teachers to combat the decline in minorities entering the teaching profession. Both labor and higher education can provide assistance in meeting this national problem.

LABOR/HIGHER EDUCATION INITIATIVES: FINDING COMMON GROUND

The National Meeting included two special addresses. **Benjamin Barber**, political theorist and author, spoke about a new form of leadership, "facilitating leaders" who embrace and value listening and encourage public talk to promote and advance democracy. **Alison Bernstein**, Program Officer for Education and Culture Programs at The Ford Foundation, talked about the Council's potential for research and suggested several areas that would overlap labor and higher education interests.

Dorothy Shields of the AFL-CIO Department of Education reviewed the Council's status and prospects, and presented to the group for consideration basic principles which can be used to guide the Council's future.

Several model cooperative efforts between labor and higher education highlighted the close of the National Meeting. **Sheila Kaplan**, Chancellor of the University of Wisconsin—Parkside related the efforts of the Council for Adult and Experiential Learning (CAEL) to forge educational partnerships between the Communications Workers of America (CWA) and U.S. West (formerly Mountain Bell) and other regional telephone systems. And **Christine Matusek** of the Minnesota AFL-CIO talked about the learning network the labor body had established with Minnesota institutions of higher education.

Facilitating Leaders: Encouraging Talk and Common Action in Democratic Organizations

BENJAMIN BARBER

*Benjamin Barber holds the Walt Whitman Chair of Political Science at Rutgers University, and directs the Whitman Center for the Cultural and Politics of Democracy. His most recent books are **The Conquest of Politics**; **Liberal Philosophy in Democratic Times**, and **Strong Democracy: Participatory Politics for a New Age**.*



You are an extraordinary group and I wish we had more such coalitions coming together and engaging in dialogue around mutual concerns. Our society is so segmented that we often talk only to ourselves.

In talking about leadership in democratic organizations, let's start with our recent national elections. American elections have become to a large extent a spectator sport, with citizens as voyeurs where leaders talk to people, encourage some discussion, and then do what they were going to do anyway. The notion of equating democracy to elections does not capture the reality of what you, who are engaged in democratic organizations, in democratic procedures and concepts, are all about. America is not one, but two democracies.

Democracy in the Political State

The first is the democracy of our political state, the "inside the Beltway" mentality, in which only 50 percent of our citizens act occasionally as voters. Even the 50 percent voting figure for the 1988 national election is skewed: only 18 percent of the people under 24 eligible to vote actually voted; only 25 percent of the poor voted; whereas 75 percent of the upper-middle and wealthy white male population voted—they've never stopped voting. It's mainly the young and the poor who don't vote.

We talk about democracy in terms of voting, as if being a citizen is merely being a voter, when in fact voting is only the beginning, not the end, of what it means to be a citizen. Further, by restricting the definition of citizenship

to voting, the average American citizen spends five minutes a year to vote, perhaps a few hours if they listen to the debates. Most Americans spend more time tying their shoes than being a citizen—defined in this fashion.

Democracy is not really found in Washington, D.C.—it's throughout the country, in small towns and municipalities—where a great many Americans engage in political behavior but don't call it that. They don't recognize themselves as being involved in politics. They are too busy for "citizenship," yet they are in PTAs, chair a neighborhood association, work on a zoning board or a church committee, moderate a town meeting—but they have no time for politics. But this is what politics is—or ought to be. This is what citizenship is about and the media and our politicians fail to recognize this form of citizenship.

To my astonishment, some of the political science journals refer to "too much democracy" and "pandering to the people," or "the public wants to

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deal in symbols" and poor voter turnouts "are the fault of the people, not the leadership."

From our Founding Fathers onward, democracy has always been considered dangerous. Alexander Hamilton talked about "mobocracy" and observed that to involve citizens in the political process is dangerous. One of my colleagues, Sam Huntington of Harvard, published an article at the time of the Bicentennial where he said the main problem of American democracy is "democratic overload"—too many people participating too much and making too many demands on the system.

Some social scientists agree. The best forms of democracy for them are where people participate the least. Policymaking should be left to politicians

and bureaucrats—let them run things. I'm sure labor unions and college administrators, represented in this room, are not unfamiliar with this point of view. All organizations have some people who know how best to run things.

That understanding of democracy is deeply pernicious to democratic life and individual educational growth. No organization can afford to foster that form of democracy without undermining the foundations of democracy and freedom in our nation.

I suggest that, in considering leadership and democracy, we do not look at models provided presently by the elected, accountable leaders, but models of those actively engaged in local community affairs—citizenship where we find it—in our community.

Citizenship in Communities

In the community, citizenship is different than citizenship as defined as voting. It is a form of engagement that transforms us. Politicians have fairly fixed, immutable interests, and in political engagement, they arbitrate and compromise these interests. The public, on the other hand, is constantly changing. When single, we tend to think of ourselves. We marry, our interests broaden. With children, broader still. We live in a community, and we have to understand what it is to live in a neighborhood, become part of neighborhood life and be concerned about the welfare of the neighborhood. Our interests are constantly expanding, changing.

This is the broader context for politics. People talk to each other at these levels and come to judgments—"public judgments"—which transcend private interests and transient private prejudices—the "I want" or "I need" syndrome. Polls seldom ask the type of question that puts answers in a broader context.

Democratic Politics as a Pragmatic Art

Democratic politics is a difficult, challenging art—an "imaginative art" which engages us in the practice of imagination, getting us to think beyond ourselves.

Bigots lack imagination because they can't see others as human beings like themselves. Liberty, citizenship, and seeing yourself as a member of the community take imagination. So, if democratic politics is an imaginative art, how do we foster it? What institutions does it need to foster it? And it's not just institutions—it's any organization that takes seriously the idea of *autonomous, thoughtful, thinking citizens* of that organization, of that particular community. This includes citizens of the academic community, of a labor union, of a corporation, of a town, state, or nation.

In a democratic country, democracy should be about "talk"—assemblies are after all called "parliaments"—places to talk. And the kind of democratic politics I'm talking about implies "talking"—but also "listening." If the art

of democracy is the act of rhetoric, then it is the art of listening as well. We're good at talking; we're not as good at listening. We listen to hear others, we listen to understand, we listen to determine what binds us together in a community.

Talk and rhetoric can be a friend of democracy, but also a friend of tyranny. Tyranny and eloquence often go hand-in-hand, and have always played a role in the history of despotism. So, eloquence is not a monopoly of democracy, tyrannies are often built around it.

The first thing I want to know about someone who wants to represent me is how well does he listen? How do we foster the "art of listening?" Too much of our communication is "vertical"—leaders talking to "followers" or constituents. Occasionally, people get to talk back, often in vertical fashion through

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a letter to Congress, a public hearing. What we need more of is "lateral communications"—constituents or members talking to each other. When do citizens have the opportunity to talk to each other? Most communications with politicians is one-way.

Empowerment Through Talk

When people talk to one another, they feel empowered. They realize they can do things together. Leaders are often frightened of this form of communication, but it is essential to the formation of civic judgment and civic competence. The notion that in a democracy that you rule by public opinion or mass pre-

judices is nonsense. Democracy means people reaching informed judgments after extended interaction.

Citizens, as members of democratic organizations, also need this opportunity to overcome the attitude of our representatives that says: "Don't worry, we'll do it for you. Tell us what the issue is and we'll resolve it."

So, lateral communications are essential to public judgment. Public deliberations, in turn, are essential to civic competence and citizenship.

Consociational Public Talk

The kind of interaction is key. Talk can lead to polarization. "Let's vote" and the issue gets resolved. Another way is what social scientists call "consociational"—talk that leads to consensus, not majority vote. For example, in a 5th grade classroom in Boston recently, the teacher told the class they had the power to make decisions over such things as breaks, lunch hour, how much homework, and so on but the decision had to be unanimous—or the teacher would make the decision. In the beginning, all decisions

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did go back to the teacher. Gradually, as the class realized it was not empowered to act, they started listening to the dissidents and then started to make decisions in common. They gave consensus a chance. Democracy requires patience. Efficiency is not a virtue of democracy—dictatorships are different. But inefficiency is the price we pay for democracy.

If the role of leadership in a democracy is to create autonomous, thoughtful members of the community, then we have to talk about "facilitating leadership."

Facilitating Leadership

The leader facilitates the work of others and is not a surrogate for it. The American ideal of leadership is the "hero"—the right corporate president—a Trump, an Iaccoca—who'll save us. Or a John Kennedy. You've heard it—why don't we have any more John Kennedys? What we need is another hero in the White House. But "heroic leadership" is anathema to democracy, even

"We need leaders who can help mobilize their members and constituents, inspire them, engage them. We need leaders who are great educators. We need political candidates who are educators and not just contenders for power."

when it works. And it is often dangerous. Garry Wills once wrote that "We get into greatest trouble in America under presidents we love the most." Emil Zapata, the Mexican Revolutionary, said that "Great men, great leaders make a weak people because they take away the motives for people to govern themselves." The one thing worse than a malevolent tyrant is a benevolent tyrant who robs the people of their liberty and their will to govern themselves.

Labor leader Eugene Debs was once approached by a follower who said: "Save us—take us out of the darkness." Debs responded: "Too long have the workers of the world awaited a Moses to lead them out of bondage. I would not lead you if I could, for if you could be led out of the darkness—you could be led back in again."

We need facilitating leaders as models and teachers who can create autonomous, thinking students who may even end up critical of the teacher. For a good teacher knows he has succeeded when students reject your ideas and are not just uncritical disciples. Brecht's "Galileo" said: "Pity the country that has no heroes." To which the reply was "pity the country that needs heroes." America is a country that need heroes. Our organizations need heroes to solve problems. But remember, leaders don't make a movement great. It's the members, the citizens, the participants. We need leaders who can help mobilize their members and constituents, inspire them, engage them. We need leaders who are great educators. We need political candidates who are educators and not just contenders for power. We missed a great opportunity in the 1988 campaign to discuss "liberalism"—its connection to liberty, to the Bill of Rights, as well as the dangers of liberal excess.

Our representatives tend to tell us what their positions on the issues are, but fail to provide the information for us to decide. Citizens can make value judgments themselves, particularly in common with one another, if given the information and opportunity to think about it.

So the bottom line of citizenship is education. The distinction between education and civic education is to be civically educated. "Liberal education" is "civic education." It is the capacity to think autonomously, critically, and

independently, and to reach our own decisions. It is the ability to listen to others, to learn from them, and to imagine ourselves in other people's positions. That's liberal education, that's civic education.

This makes education subversive and radicalizing—because it goes to the roots. It is empowering because it encourages people to think for themselves and to ask questions. All education is subversive because it explodes dogma, explodes cant, and doesn't let people get away with nonsense.

If we care about democracy in democratic organizations, then we should care about education. The aim should not be to create powerful leaders who do things for us, but to involve and engage people as members and citizens of organizations and communities. Democracy is not great leaders, but extraordinary citizens. Rousseau in one of his essays said that there is "no patriotism without liberty, no liberty without virtue, and no virtue without citizens. You create true citizens and you have everything you need. Without them, we have nothing but debased slaves—from rulers of the state on down."

Discussion

JAMES FORAN: How do you create leadership?

BENJAMIN BARBER: You train citizens, train leaders to think analytically and independently. You can teach this. You create opportunities for citizens and community members to be critical and to challenge "from the bottom up." You can't teach "charisma," you're born with it. But you can teach citizenship because you're not born with it. Citizenship is an artificial art—it has to be learned.

EDWARD LISTON: Your view of leadership depends on followers to accept an active role in shaping their destiny. Isn't this quality in short supply? Aren't most people comfortable with letting others do thinking for them?

BENJAMIN BARBER: Democracy is a rare form of government. Americans are spoiled because we think it is a natural form. I agree with you—democracy is the hard way. The key to overcoming citizen lethargy is to make the connections between participation and power. Tell people: if you want power over your life, if you want to be an active citizen to get control over decisions that affect you, then you have to participate. You can't just say that responsible citizens should be involved. The connection has to be made between participation and power.

TIM SAMPSON: I teach community organization. Some of the participants asked what should they do when the leader, the chair, gets into trouble. I ask: "When you saw that the chair was in trouble, why didn't you jump in?" The answer is usually: "That's not my role" or "It's not my organization." We need to instill a collective sense of leadership—we're all responsible.

"Tell people: if you want power over your life, if you want to be an active citizen to get control over decisions that affect you, then you have to participate."

People don't have experience with facilitating leadership. Once they get this experience, they can better understand and tolerate directive leadership. For example, adult illiterates need to know how to work together in groups, yet that is not part of what we teach, not part of what we do. Our organizations are changing, including the labor movement, to incorporate these ideas.

ROBERT ATWELL: Ben, you are advocating a form of democracy that assumes a higher level of consensus than I think we have. I believe we have to consider the distinction between the "haves" and the "have nots." We're experiencing a disintegration of our social structures. The university is a "consensual model," but even the university is often paralyzed to act. Our system of shared values seems to have broken down.

For example, Sweden is a "high consensus society" with shared values, and with relatively few things Swedes disagree on. We don't agree on anything, so how can your model of "facilitating leadership" work here?

BENJAMIN BARBER: The creation of an egalitarian political system in a country of strong racial and economic inequalities is a great challenge. Part of the answer is that we have a powerful rhetoric of "political democracy" which we pay lip service to. We have a powerful rhetoric of social and economic equality that doesn't hold in practice. So I would argue that we should work to turn our rhetorical political democracy into real democracy, and then use democratic practice to transform our social and economic system to make them more equal.

JACK GOLODNER: Even if people had increased opportunities to participate politically and in economic decisions, it doesn't mean people will participate. Don't people have a democratic right not to participate?

BENJAMIN BARBER: Yes, they have that right. But as educators, we don't tell our students in class: "Here's the test, read it or don't." We have to learn the art of citizenship. It is an acquired art.

HERMAN JAMES: I'd like to mention a dimension which we have not touched upon. One of the most detrimental trends in America is "meism"—increasing materialism. The result is a breakdown of social organizations and

the family. Individual interests prevail over collective interests in family and community.

BENJAMIN BARBER: You have to work continuously in building a collective sense—that we are in it together. It's up to presidents of colleges and universities, and to union presidents—as are gathered here—and CEOs of similar organizations concerned with promotion of democracy to offer a hope for active democratic participation through their own leadership examples.

A Challenge to the Council

ALISON BERNSTEIN

Alison Bernstein holds the Ph.D. in History from Columbia University. She is currently Program Officer, The Ford Foundation, responsible for improving undergraduate curriculum, community colleges, minorities, and women's studies. She is a former Planning Officer for The Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education, Department of Education.



I was asked to look at the Council and some important research issues it might address. In retrospect, my impression of the Council from your publications resonates with some of our activities at the Ford Foundation. At both Ford and the Council, we are both interested in "cross-sector discourse" in American society, and there's far too little at present. So the Foundation welcomes the opportunity you offer for leaders to come together for cross-sector discussion.

The Council has lofty goals, but discourses tend to be ephermal. So I hope you will take your work to the next step in going public and in applying the ideas you are discussing. You seem, for example, to have struck common ground on some issues, e.g., financial aid, especially for part-time learners and I understand this has been the subject of your joint statements.

Second, you agree on the importance and acceptance of collective bargaining in American economic life—another plus.

What was surprising to me, however, in reviewing your materials was the underrepresentation of community colleges in your work. Of all the sectors in higher education, of all the centers concerned with worker education, the rhetoric of the community college is the strongest. Yet community colleges appear to have a lack of activity with the Council.

Also, minority representation and issues of diversity are not major phenomena in the Council's discourses.

I enjoyed some of the previous presentations. Daniel Yankelovich's warnings, for example, on discontinuities and values related to the labor movement deserve attention. President James Shuart of Hofstra advised that you shouldn't overestimate interest of college faculty in working students. On prin-

ciple, college faculty agree—we will teach working students as long as they pay more attention to what I am up to—my schedule and my teaching format. I was on a community college campus recently where a faculty member, full of “working class consciousness,” thought one of his students not sufficiently motivated because the student refused to meet him after class to discuss his essay—the student had to get to his job. The point: look beyond the rhetoric of support for working learners. How much working should they be engaged in to be “real students?” This might be a good research topic, indicating gender, economic status, and working student level of preparation for higher education.

When I was at FIPSE in the mid-seventies, we received many proposals reflecting innovative ideas for worker education, often involving linkages with non-traditional institutions (e.g., Empire State College’s “Learning Centers” and AFSCME District 37 in New York City with its degree programs at the College of New Rochelle). On the other hand, there didn’t seem to be much activity outside of Michigan and New York City. The Council might consider, therefore, documenting recent innovative work in labor and higher education—those programs developed jointly between mainstream higher education institutions and the unions. I know there are many more such partnerships today. So what are the practical programs that exist to serve workers, outside of Detroit and New York City?

Another point. There doesn’t seem to be enough attention paid to the problems and tensions that arise when nearly one-half of the work force is female, when women make up 27-30 percent of organized labor and only 5 percent of its leadership, and when 3 of every 5 new jobs are going to women. The statistics on minorities can’t be much better. Ford has a program on Work

“The Council might consider, therefore, documenting recent innovative work in labor and higher education—those programs developed jointly between mainstream higher education institutions and the unions.”

and Family Relations, and we believe the issue of work and family life is a subject that is commanding increasing attention from management, especially with regard to benefits policy and work-family responsibilities. These issues are very much alive in American management. How often do union leaders and higher education officials fashion proposals to examine these questions?

Another Ford program is in Youth Employment Opportunities directed at individuals who have not been well served by our educational system, namely

dropouts. Dropouts seem to have little activity with unions, and probably lack the educational skills unions and the job market require. What do we do with those types of workers—and potential workers? How can unions and higher education work together to serve them?

Last, in the Ford-funded book by Barbara Wertheimer, *Labor Education for Women Workers*, which documents women workers in educational programs, there is a quote by Lois Gray of Cornell: "Leadership training is one of the principal challenges facing the American labor movement." Is finding common ground for the training of union leaders an issue for your respective sectors? This might be an especially important topic among populations which have been underrepresented in union leadership cadres. For example, would it be useful to study the percentage of women who hold major positions in labor unions? Or minorities who hold major positions? How strong and pervasive is that representation? What is their access to training and education? Labor unions are doing a better job of recruiting and claiming minority membership today than ever before. Can we find out in what kinds of unions? What kinds of leadership are emerging? So, a major area for research might be leadership patterns for underrepresented persons in both unions and higher education. The vitality of any sector depends on the diversity of perspectives it represents—it is a genuine labor movement/higher education problem. And labor could be asking, as is higher education, how women and minorities are encouraged to take leadership positions.

Thus, for the Ford Foundation, issues of leadership development and representation of diversity in unions and higher education would be important research questions. Unions and higher education could play an important role in assuring that tomorrow's leadership is more diverse than it is today.

Discussion

TOM DONAHUE: We have had no hard evidence on the number of minority and women representatives in labor leadership positions. What evidence we have is anecdotal. Our problems of diversity in unions are somewhat different as we have elected leadership, not appointed, with the members deciding on its leaders. It would be interesting to look at staff levels, however, for I sense an enormous change in staff hiring patterns of all our unions in terms of women and minorities. The labor movement recognizes

"Unions and higher education could play an important role in assuring that tomorrow's leadership is more diverse than it is today."

that we need the vibrancy that comes both from membership and leadership positions. Union democratic elections are a problem, not an excuse, but we have to deal with reality.

In our 90 affiliated international unions, four have black leadership and three have female leadership. Many local unions, where women are importantly represented, have reflected diversity in leadership patterns in the election of female leadership. AFT is the principal example, along with nursing and the hospital workers where the strong leadership of women and minorities reflects the membership of these unions and the results of popular elections.

We have found a substantial growth in our unions in representation of women and minorities in positions of secondary leadership—Secretary/Treasurers, Executive Vice Presidents, Vice Presidents. We realize this is not enough, but it does represent substantial change. We probably should be more critical of ourselves, developing even more opportunities for leadership training, creating opportunities for younger people to rise to leadership. Just to take one example, the Harvard Trade Union Program offers mid-level career training and one-half of the participants are women.

CHRISTINE MATUSEK: From my experience in locals, there has been an increase in female leadership at the local level. I'm in the Communications Workers Union (CWA), and 52 percent of our membership is women. Up to a few years ago, we had no women or minorities on our Executive Board. Now, after a couple of elections, both groups are well represented.

DOROTHY SHIELDS: Similarly, there seems to be a low level of representation of women on community college and other boards of trustees. There are even fewer labor representatives on these boards. Foundation boards probably show a similar pattern. The problem of diversity goes across the board.

ALISON BERNSTEIN: You have a good point, Dorothy. For example, we have a Community Development Urban Opportunity Program funded by Ford in Miami but labor was not invited to participate. "Economic development" is the new buzz word, and labor should be represented as the people involved in economic development seek partners at the state and local levels to solve problems for management. The projects should serve labor's needs as well.

ALLAN OSTAR: The projects in our affiliated institutions that relate to business and corporate relationships on campus have primarily come from the initiative of the business community. That's where the money is. Higher education has been cultivating the business community for some time, but tends to take labor for granted. One reason might be that labor has always been supportive of public education—at every level, so we simply haven't involved

them in the same way as the business community. I appreciate the direct challenge to us to bring labor to the table in these projects.

ALISON BERNSTEIN: How much of a risk do you at ACE and AASCU run if you insist that labor should be involved in these economic development projects? The possibilities exist for this Council to begin to lay the groundwork, with higher education as a partner, to pay attention to labor's stake here.

TIM SAMPSON: I think it is very important that we document existing, exemplary programs in labor and higher education. The political climate today is anti-union, and we have to pay attention to larger institutional questions. The Council should open up relationships at community colleges and other colleges and universities where no relationship with labor currently exists. Where labor centers exist on campuses as points of entry for workers, it's likely that there will be better union-institutional ties. You also have potentially better labor-higher education cooperation where faculty and staff are organized, with links to their own and other unions in their community.

DOROTHY SHIELDS: The Council goes beyond labor education centers. We're interested in labor and higher education coming together for worker learning opportunities. That's where our people are. That's where their families and kids are. We do need a long-term perspective.

There's billions of dollars out there for educational opportunity benefits. There's opportunities for labor and management, for labor and higher education to work together for expanded programs for workers, and this dialogue has been on a positive note.

There are models for cooperation between CWA and higher education in Colorado, with U.S. West's involvement through collectively-bargained prepaid plans, in Minnesota through the state AFL-CIO, in New York State. District 37 (AFSCME) is a model for labor and higher education, with a multi-faceted program attempting to meet the educational needs of workers at all levels—women, minorities, functional illiterates, workers pursuing career ladders, children's scholarships, college opportunities—it's all there.

The State of the Council and Guiding Principles

DOROTHY SHIELDS

Dorothy Shields is Director of the Department of Education, AFL-CIO.



The Council completed a survey of its members last fall to find out what its members were thinking, including ideas for the Council's future activities. The Council is now six years old, having conducted five national meetings and published two sets of proceedings. The Council has also received coverage in both AFL-CIO and ACE publications.

During its national meetings, the Council has taken on issues important to labor and higher education, and survey respondents overwhelmingly endorsed the Council's willingness to tackle these issues. Among the issues were those dealing with labor-campus relationships, retraining the workforce, worker access to higher education and removing the barriers, economic and labor force trends, funding of educational opportunities for working adults, exemplary labor-higher education projects, and policy issues that became the subject of Council joint statements.

Respondents expressed strong support for these joint legislative statements which have been publicized in the AFL-CIO and ACE communications channels. They also believed the Council is doing something important in bringing union leaders together with college and university leaders in frank exchanges of views.

They want the Council to continue its work, with somewhat modest aspirations, but exercising initiatives to benefit both sectors. For example, respondents wanted the Council to develop state level labor/higher education partnerships, keep communications channels between labor and higher education open, docu-

"They also believed the Council is doing something important in bringing union leaders together with college university leaders in frank exchanges of views."

ment model, exemplary labor/higher education projects, conduct joint meetings with other organizations (e.g., with the Business/Higher Education Forum), and undertake research projects on jointly-determined problems in labor and higher education.

Guiding Principles

Based on the member survey and the Council's Steering Committee meeting just before this meeting, we were able to hammer out a set of "guiding principles" to direct future Council activities. The principles emerge directly from the Council's objectives, and will be disseminated to all members. The principles are

1. Labor and Higher Education reaffirm their belief that a well-educated, well-trained and fully-employed work force is essential to America's economic, social, and political well being.
2. Labor and Higher Education agree to cooperate in meeting the goal of an educated and trained work force, recognizing the importance of closing the gap between worker educational levels and skills and the emerging work force needs of the 1990s.
3. The Council believes that increased investment in education at all levels—pre-school through post-doctoral and continuing studies, including training and research—is the principal means whereby America in the long term can increase productivity, keep pace with technological change, improve worker quality of life, and enable America to be strong and internationally competitive.
4. The Council encourages all workers to maximize their educational potential through formal/informal education and training programs—for individual growth, social cohesion, economic productivity, and informed participation in institutional, community, and public life.
5. Labor and Higher Education agree to collaborate in creating increased opportunities for workers and their families to continue their education and training by removing the barriers to recruitment, enrollment, and retention. Institutions should take responsibility for developing programs to enable all worker students to maximize their career potential.
6. The Council recognizes that a critical element of any strategy to increase worker participation in higher education is to increase minority recruitment, access, enrollment, and retention. Both labor and higher education have responsibility for promoting such institutional diversity.

“Labor and Higher Education reaffirm their belief that a well-educated, well-trained and fully-employed work force is essential to America’s economic, social, and political well being.”

7. The Council recognizes that one of the barriers to worker education is funding to meet college costs, and it calls on the Congress to establish adequate budget ceilings for educational programs in the budget resolution process to meet the nation’s urgent needs for education and training and to enable workers and their families to meet college costs.
8. The Council urges greater priority be paid by our major sectors—organized labor, higher education, management, and government—to worker skill upgrading and retraining, including education and training for emerging jobs and job skills of the 1990s. Collectively-bargained and employer-sponsored education benefit plans can provide replicable models for effective worker education or training programs.
9. Labor and Higher Education agree to make a determined effort to play a strong community leadership role in the eradication of the problems associated with functional illiteracy in the work place, including research on teaching methodologies and the application of new technologies.
10. Labor and Higher Education agree to collaborate in the creation of local and state-level labor/higher education partnerships and joint program activities.
11. The Council recognizes that Labor and Higher Education have a leadership role in maintaining the momentum of the education reform movements of the 1980s, both for elementary-secondary and postsecondary education, including mutual efforts to restructure education and to prepare young people for higher education, increasingly technical jobs, career changes, and work place competencies.
12. Higher Education understands that workers returning to education cannot be taught in traditional ways, and that efforts should be made by administrators and faculty to involve worker students in shared respon-

sibility for learning, in thinking critically about their lives, in capitalizing on worker experiences, in encouraging problem solving, and in understanding cultural diversity in our multicultural society.

13. The Council expresses a willingness to strengthen and communicate labor/higher educationships, including creation of exemplary union-higher education programs in teaching, research, and community service.
14. Labor and Higher Education recognize the need for quality education services for adult learners. Resources available for worker and family education and training are attracting multiple suppliers of educational services and this requires assuring the quality of these services through accreditation, licensure, and other means.
15. The Council urges governmental policies that facilitate the return of workers to education and training. It recommends changes in policies that discourage worker participation in education and training (e.g., policies related to such family issues as child care, parental leave, no taxation of educational benefits, and no penalties for welfare recipients returning to education).

LABOR/HIGHER EDUCATION PARTNERSHIPS THAT WORK

**SHEILA KAPLAN and
CHRISTINE MATUSEK**

Sheila Kaplan is Chancellor of the University of Wisconsin—Parkside and Board Chair for the Council for Adult and Experimental Learning (CAEL).

Christine Matusek is Director for Community Service and Education for the Minnesota AFL-CIO. She is a member of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) and hosts a weekly television program in the Twin Cities on labor topics.

SHEILA KAPLAN

I want to talk about CAEL's role in providing brokering services in the states for worker education, bringing a collaboration of unions and post-secondary institutions together, under collectively-bargained employer-supported educational programs, to enable workers to return to school. CAEL is an association of universities and individuals interested in adult education and credentialing of experiential learning. It's been around since the early 1970's and includes some 300 members. Morris Keeton is President and I serve as Chair of the CAEL Board of Trustees.

I think we're all aware that in the last few years there has been a change in language in the labor movement. We're hearing more about "employment security," moving away from "job security" as a bargaining item. Workers want opportunities to grow, to change jobs, perhaps to change sectors as needed, and they'll require educational credentials and flexibility to do it.

CAEL first got involved with the union movement about the same time the concept of employment security began to get some play. In the last few years, CAEL has been working with a group of unions, including the UAW and the CWA. I'll talk today about CWA and its contract for communications workers in the mountain states. I know CAEL has also been active with the Bricklayers International Union, and in Philadelphia with the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW). There are others, but these are the biggest ones.



"We're hearing more about 'employment security,' moving away from 'job security' as a bargaining item. Workers want opportunities to grow, to change jobs, perhaps to change sectors as needed, and they'll require educational credentials and flexibility to do it."

Union motivation for getting involved with CAEL differs from union to union. In the mountain states, CWA was aware of the probability of major layoffs in the Mountain Bell Region (now U.S. West). The breakup of "Ma Bell" created the need to streamline the work force, and there was a commitment on the part of CWA and management to provide educational benefits for workers so they could make the transition out of that career path and obtain alternative employment.

The UFCW in Philadelphia had a different motivation. Supermarket workers in Philadelphia were experiencing one of the highest rates of turnover in the nation. The job is not high-paying and not easy, causing problems in turnover for both the union and management. They got together and negotiated educational benefits to help reduce work force turnover, giving individuals the incentive to stay and work for the company more than six months or a year. So motivations differ.

The response of the academic community to the new educational benefits in both instances has been through CAEL. For example, take CAEL and US West. Three years ago, CWA negotiated a substantial educational package with what was then Mountain Bell. Mountain Bell, in turn asked CAEL to play an educational brokering function—to help organize and administer the new educational program. The program was called: "Pathways to the Future."

What did CAEL do? It organized a consortium of community colleges, four-year colleges and universities, and vocational schools in seven states in the Rocky Mountain region who were willing to accept worker students under the prepaid tuition plan. The new plan differed from the worker tuition reimbursement plans of the past, which many employees ignored. CAEL has documented that there is a 77 percent higher participation rate in prepaid tuition plans than in the prior reimbursement plans. So CWA built the prepaid concept into its plan negotiated with Mountain Bell.

Yesterday, we talked about the importance of counseling. You can't just

offer educational benefits to working men and women. They have a need for counseling, a need for a way to enter back into the learning environment after years away from school. Why are you returning to school? What career path do you want from education? CAEL created on-site "Returning to Learning Workshops" to answer these questions for workers, bringing in skills assessment, education and career planning, and information about educational programs available and accessible to workers.

CAEL offers another aspect in its work with unions and adult learners. It believes it is important to work with higher education institutions that offer credit for prior learning—from the job and from individual learning experiences. Prior learning credit can be a key factor in a worker's decision to return to school, and the college or university has to be willing to grant credit for worker learners.

CWA reports extraordinary worker participation rates in the prepaid tuition education benefits plan. Over 50 percent of the workers eligible to participate are actually participating. It is too soon to determine if they are going on to complete degree programs, and whether the educational experiences translate into alternative employment. But from the perspective of the participating workers, there has been a positive response to going back to school.

Both CWA and US West have included educational benefits as a topic for negotiation again. Other CWA locals across the country are entering into similar negotiated agreements which they will be proposing to the "Baby Bells" nationwide.

There are two or three problems educators should consider in these negotiated plans:

1. *Quality Control:* What kinds of institutions offer quality educational programs for workers' prepaid tuition? There are no limitations on unions or where the workers go for education. They can attend anywhere. And the danger is in fly-by-night educational operations, particularly some proprietary schools.

Another question is what are the workers learning? Will the school work contribute to the worker's career mobility?

2. *Educational Providers:* What kinds of providers are most appropriate, given the number of students and the amount of money available? How will they meet the worker student's needs?
3. *Community College Participation:* Community colleges can respond more quickly to workers' educational interests than many four-year institutions, although I must say that the University of Utah has been quite active.

Problems associated with the prepaid tuition plans arise because of the nature of colleges and universities. They are not entrepreneurial, and most

don't know how to deal with unions. They are not responsive to rapid change as unions and management negotiate educational benefits. This brings in CAEL as the "broker." CAEL does the dirty work, negotiating deals with the unions, with the colleges and universities, to assure delivery of the educational programs.

The same format is taking place in other areas. It's exciting with the major impetus coming from the labor movement to make adult education meaningful for workers.

We found similar emphasis on adult education coming from management. For example, Scott paper has developed educational programs for people in the lumber industry under the conviction that a lumberjack, by age 40, has "had it." Workers need options to move out of lumberjacking. So CAEL is seeing a congruence of interests among management, unions, and higher education in the quest to determine how higher education can be of most value to the individual worker.



CHRISTINE MATUSEK

One of the things I learned from these few days with the Council, as a Community Service/Education Director with the Minnesota AFL-CIO, is that I believe we are on track in Minnesota. I want to tell you about the partnership the Minnesota labor movement has with higher education. There are several program initiatives.

1. *Labor Representatives in Higher Education:* Labor representatives sit on several college and university boards. One of our recent projects, for example, with the Minnesota Higher Education System, is the creation of a scholarship fund for children of minority members. We've engaged in a successful fund-raising campaign to support the program, mainly through the labor movement. This is a joint labor/higher education endeavor, with labor as a full partner.
2. *Labor in the Schools Project:* Through the St. Paul central labor body (St. Paul AFL-CIO Trades and Labor Assembly), unions have

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"adopted" a teacher, with labor picking up the tab. High school and junior high school teachers come in and learn about the labor movement and we help them to develop a curriculum for K-12 reflecting the history and traditions of the American labor movement.

3. *University of Minnesota's Labor Education Service:* We have a wonderful working relationship with the Labor Education Service at the University of Minnesota. We produce a weekly cable TV program called "Minnesota at Work" which I host. It is our educational tool for union membership and for the community, and it covers legislative issues, educational issues, and a wide range of programs related to worker education.
4. *Metropolitan State University's Labor Studies Program:* Metropolitan State University has created the only baccalaureate program in labor studies in the state, but it could be a model for other colleges and universities, both in Minnesota and in other areas. There is a joint task force made up of labor and university representatives working on the curriculum. There'll be a Scholarship Fund for adults, mainly union activists, interested in taking labor education courses and pursuing the BA.
5. *Minnesota Adult Learner Services Network (ALSN):* The Minnesota AFL-CIO received a grant of \$570,000 from the Kellogg Foundation three years ago to establish a network of people involved with CAEL—15 colleges and universities, 4 non-academic partners (e.g., the Minnesota Office of Volunteer Services), and unions across the state.

Let me elaborate on the Network. After a slow start, the ALSN is fulfilling the mission of developing adult learner services—counseling, planning courses, assessment of prior learning, flexible course offerings—in the state's

colleges and universities. It is also informing non-academic organizations and individual adults of the availability of these services.

One of the problems we're faced is that some of the academic partners have difficulties with assessment for prior learning, including credibility of the prior learning experiences and how to do it. Last year, we saw some attitudes changing. We went from 14 to 17 partners, and increasingly, colleges and universities are telling us: "We want to be part of the network."

The ALSN should result in increased coordination between academic institutions and non-academic organizations, enable several thousand workers to return to school, sensitize faculty and staff to adult learning needs, and provide extensive information and referral services and materials for all interested worker learners.

We have extensive handouts on the program, posters to recruit workers, and a 20-minute video which depicts adults who have returned to school. It tells their stories, and has appeared on local TV. An advertising firm has helped to promote the network, ads in local newspapers with an "800" number have generated substantial responses, and we are continually seeking out other means to bring the network to the attention of the workers.

Our challenge is that we have 300,000 affiliated union members in Minnesota, and the Teamsters have another 50,000 who are not yet affiliated. The funding for this program ends in July, 1989. The idea is just catching on, we're beginning to move, and the union membership is responding. I'm involved heavily with our community colleges and four-year colleges and universities in generating funding and plans to continue the ALSN.

The Minnesota AFL-CIO has been the driving force behind the idea. We need the network for the education of our members. Our "hook" is assessment for prior learning.

On other fronts, we will be holding a one-day workshop for the network partners, concentrating on recruitment and retraining of minority workers as students, demographics of the work force, and what's happening to remove barriers for minority participation in higher education.

Another workshop will be held in the spring, 1989 for the labor leadership in the state on issues, problems, and publicity regarding the network.

Our other projects include the Minnesota Adult Literacy Campaign, a five-year program to end in 1991 which coordinates the efforts of literacy providers to reach Minnesota's 650,000 functionally illiterate adults. I'm on the Board of Directors as the representative of labor and I chair the Campaign's Workplace Literacy Task Force. The Task Force addresses employees' literacy needs and encourages private sector use and support of our literacy programs and services. Unions, corporations, and literacy providers serve on the Task Force. As we discovered, there was no blueprint for workplace literacy, so

we published a manual, "Workplace Literacy: Blueprint for Action," which offers business and labor a step-by-step process to identify and overcome workplace literacy.

Again, the Workplace Literacy Campaign ends in 1991, and everyone wants it to continue. Our big quest is funding for continuation.

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- Ronald E. Beller**—President, East Tennessee State University
- Oble Bender**—Assistant to the President and Director of Institutional Planning, Baldwin-Wallace College
- Allson Bernstein**—Program Officer, Education and Culture Program, The Ford Foundation
- Al Bilik**—President, Public Employee Department, AFL-CIO
- K. Lynn Cairnes**—Director, National Training Program, International Union of Operating Engineers
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- Murray Frank**—John McCormack Institute for Public Affairs, University of Massachusetts, Boston
- Jack Germond**—*Baltimore Sun*
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